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THE TRIAL

OF

THOMAS HARDY,

FOR

High Treason,

AT THE

SESSIONS HOUSE IN THE OLD BAILEY,

ON

Tuesday the Twenty-eighth, Wednesday the Twenty-ninth, Thursday the Thirtieth, Friday the Thirty-first of October; and on Saturday the First, Monday the Third, Tuesday the Fourth, and Wednesday the Fifth of November, 1794.

VOL. II.

JEROME B. HOWARD CINCINNATI, OHIO.

TAKEN IN SHORT-HAND,

By JOSEPH GURNEY.

LONDON:
SOLD BY MARTHA GURNEY, BOOKSELLER, HOLBORN-HILL,

1795.

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TRIAL

OF

THOMAS HARDY

FOR

HIGH TREASON.

The following Entry was read from one of the Books of the Society for Conſtitutional Information:

" AT a Meeting of the Society, held at the Crown and " Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, July 27, 1792.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Choppin, in the chair.

" Mr. Hull, Mr. Buſh, Mr. M. Buſh, Mr. Sturch, Mr. " Williams, Mr. G. Williams, Capt. Harwood, Mr. Harvey, " Mr. Gow, Capt. Perry, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Geddes, Mr. " Aſpinal, Mr. Gerard, Mr. Littlejohn, Mr. Rutt, Mr. Sutton, " Mr. Moore, Mr. John Martin, Lord Sempill.

" The committee appointed to take Mr. Paine's letter of the " 4th inſtant into conſideration, and to conſider of the manner in " which the ſociety ſhall communicate to Mr. Paine their deter- " mination concerning his offer of 1000l. in truſt, to be applied " as this ſociety ſhall think proper, reported that they had " met on Monday laſt, when they came to the following " reſolutions:

" That it is the opinion of this committee, the offer of Mr, " Paine be reſpectfully declined.

" Reſolved, That the following letter be recommended by " this committee, to be tranſmitted by the ſociety to Mr. Paine;

" SIR,

" I am directed by the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " to return you their ſincere thanks for the honour you have " done them, in requeſting them to become truſtees of the ſum " of one thouſand pounds, which has been produced by the " profits of the ſale of the Rights of Man, and leaving it to them " to apply it to ſuch purpoſes as they ſhould judge proper. " They have a juſt ſenſe of the confidence that you have placed " in them, and of the generoſity and diſintereſtedneſs of your " offer, but they cannot think that it is an offer they ſhould " accept. The eminent ſervices which have been rendered to " the public by your invaluable writings, have never yet met " with an adequate reward, and they think that it would be an " extreme injuſtice to deprive you of any benefits which might be " derived from their ſale; for it is but reaſonable, that thoſe who " are poſſeſſed of literary talents, and who employ them to pro- " mote the happineſs of the community to which they belong, " and to mankind at large, ſhould receive thoſe advantages " which may be obtained by their writings, and which may be " enjoyed with integrity and honour. But though the ſociety " decline the offer which you have been pleaſed to make them, " they cannot do it, without, at the ſame time, congratulating " you upon the conſciouſneſs which you muſt poſſeſs of having " contributed, by your writings, to the illumination of ſo many " millions of human beings, in this country, America, and in " other nations, on ſubjects of the higheſt importance to the " univerſal freedom and happineſs of mankind.

" I am, with great eſteem,

" SIR,

" Your moſt obedient ſervant,

" *D. A. Secretary.*"

" *To Mr. Thomas Paine.*"

" Reſolved,

" Reſolved, That the ſaid letter be ſigned by the Secretary, " and ſent to Mr. Paine.

" Reſolved, that the Secretary wait on Mr. Paine, to be in- " formed by him, whether it be agreeable to him, that the two " reſolutions of the committee appointed to take Mr. Paine's " letter of the 4th of July into conſideration, together with the " anſwer of the ſociety, be publiſhed in the papers, and that if " Mr. Paine does not diſapprove its publication, that it be forth- " with publiſhed in different papers.

" Adjourned to the laſt Friday in September."

Mr. Bower. I ſhall now call the bookſeller who publiſhed Mr. Paine's book.

Jeremiah Samuel Jordan (ſworn). *Examined by Mr. Bower.*

Q. Do you know Mr. Thomas Paine?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know his hand-writing?

A. I think I do.

Q. Look at that letter; do you believe that to be his hand-writing?

A. To the beſt of my recollection this is like his writing; I never ſaw him write.

Q. Have you correſponded with him?

A. I have received notes from him.

Q. And anſwered them?

A. No.

Q. How do you know the notes came from him; has he afterwards told you that they were his notes?

A. Becauſe I delivered things according to his order, therefore ſuppoſed them to come from him; but I never ſaw him write, ſo as to take particular notice.

Q. Have you ever talked with him about thoſe notes, or of things that were ſent in conſequence?

A. I do not know that I have.

Q. Did you publiſh, at any time, for Mr. Paine, a work, entitled, " Rights of Man?"

A. I did.

Q. Look at this, and tell us whether that is the book that you publiſhed?

A. This is one like them; whether this is one of the ſame books I cannot tell; here is my name to it, and it is like that which I publiſhed.

Q. Do you believe it to be one of the books that you publiſhed?

A. I believe it is one of the books that I might publiſh.

Mr. Erſkine. Do you ſwear to that book, that it is one you publiſhed?

A. I cannot ſwear that it is; there were a great number ſold that were not ſold by me.

Mr. Bower. Look at it, and ſee whether it is one of the books you publiſhed?

A. It is one of the ſame as I publiſhed for Mr. Paine.

Q. Is it like the book you publiſhed?

Mr. Erſkine. Is that the book or not? If that is not the book I object to it.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Who printed it?

A. Mr. Chapman printed part of it. Of the firſt part of the Rights of Man, Mr. Chapman printed the whole. This is the ſecond part.

Mr. Bower. I thought you had been the printer?

A. No, I am only the publiſher.

Mr. White. The man is dead that bought it, and I muſt call a witneſs to prove his hand-writing. That was proved in a court of juſtice.

Mr. Bower. I have the record of a conviction, in which Paine was convicted: this witneſs was examined upon his oath there, and I can prove what he ſwore then, which I ſubmit will be evidence.

Mr. Erſkine. That was the King againſt Mr. Paine: this is the King againſt Mr. Hardy.

Mr. Garrow. I think I am entitled, at preſent, to read this as evidence to go to the Jury; I know it is open to the other ſide to ſhew that this is not the Rights of Man, recognized by this ſociety.—We can carry it further.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. The rule of evidence requires that you ſhould carry it further.

Mr. Bower. Do you know how far Mr. Chapman printed?

A. I believe as far as letter H.

Mr. Bower. I will now read the proceedings of the Conſtitutional Society, at their next meeting, on the 28th of September.

The proceedings were read.

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 28th " of September, 1792,

" PRESENT,

" Mr. William Sharp in the Chair;

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Walſh, Mr. Bonney, " Mr. Merry, Mr. Jennings, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Williams, " Mr. Sturch, Mr. Moore, Captain Perry, Mr. Rickman, " Mr. Geddes, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Gow, Mr. Margarot, " Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Balmanno.

" Read the following letter from the Secretary of the London " Correſponding Society.

" To D. Adams, Secretary to the Society for Conſtitutional " Information.

" SIR,

" The London Correſponding Society having taken the reſo- " lution of tranſmitting to the French National Convention, " an addreſs, ſigned by all the members, or by the different " delegates (each ſtating for how many members he ſigns), to " aſſure that ſuffering nation, that we ſympathiſe with them in " their misfortunes; that we view their exertions with admi- " ration; that we wiſh to give them all ſuch countenance and " ſupport as individuals, unſupported and oppreſſed themſelves, " can afford; and that ſhould thoſe in power here—dare (in " violation of the nation's pledged faith of neutrality, and in " oppoſition to the well-known ſentiments of the people at " large) to join the German band of deſpots, united againſt " liberty, we diſclaim all concurrence therein; and will, to a " man, exert every juſtifiable means for counteracting their

" machinations againſt the freedom and the happineſs of " mankind.

" I am ordered by the committee to acquaint the Society for " Conſtitutional Information therewith, in order to be favoured " with their opinion thereon, and in hopes that, if they approve " the idea, and recommend its adoption to the different Societies, " the publication of ſuch a reſpectable number of real names " will greatly check the hoſtile meaſures which might otherwiſe " be put in execution.

" I am, with great reſpect,

" Dear Sir,

" Your very humble ſervant,

(Signed) " *THOMAS HARDY*, *Secretary*."

" *London, Sept.* 21, 1792,

No. 9, *Piccadilly, near the top of the Haymarket.*"

" Reſolved, That the Secretary expreſs the thanks of the " ſociety to the London Correſponding Society, for their com- " munication, and acquaint them this ſociety do very highly " approve of their intention.

" Ordered, That the ſaid letter be read at the next Meeting, " for the purpoſe of conſidering of publiſhing the ſame.

" Read a letter from the London Correſponding Society, in- " cloſing a printed Addreſs to the Inhabitants of Great- " Britain."

Mr. Bower. There is in the Meeting of the 5th, a con- firmation of theſe minutes.

Mr. Garrow. I ſhall now produce a copy of one of the cheap editions of Paine's Rights of Man, and Mr. Paine's Letter to the People of France, both found in poſſeſſion of the priſoner.

Mr. Edward Lauzan again called.

Mr. Garrow. Is that one of the papers you found at the priſoner's houſe?

A. Yes; there is my name to it.

Q. Did you find the other there?

A. Yes.

Mr. Erſkine.

Mr. Erſkine. Is your Lordſhip of opinion that any printed book which is found in the poſſeſſion of the priſoner is to be read.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. It is evidence to be left to the Jury.

Mr. Garrow. We do not interrupt the courſe of proceedings by reading the paſſages out of Paine's book; at preſent we will go on with other evidence.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. When are we to take up that? If we are ever to have it, we may as well have it now.

Mr. Garrow. Then we will read Mr. Paine's Letter to the people of France.

It was read.

LETTER of THOMAS PAINE, to the *PEOPLE of FRANCE.*

Publiſhed and diſtributed Gratis by the *London Correſponding Society.*

" *Paris, September* 25,
" *(Firſt Year of the Republic.)*

" FELLOW CITIZENS,

" I receive, with affectionate gratitude, the honour which the " late National Aſſembly has conferred upon me, by adopting " me a Citizen of France; and the additional honour of being " elected by my Fellow-Citizens a Member of the National " Convention. Happily impreſſed, as I am, by thoſe teſtimonies " of reſpect ſhewn towards me as an individual, I feel my felicity " encreaſed by ſeeing the barrier broken down that divided Pa- " triotiſm by ſpots of earth, and limited Citizenſhip to the ſoil, " like vegetation.

" Had thoſe honours been conferred in an hour of national " tranquillity, they would have afforded no other means of " ſhewing my affection, than to have accepted and enjoyed " them; but they come accompanied with circumſtances that " give me the honourable opportunity of commencing my Citi- " zenſhip in the ſtormy hour of difficulties. I come not to

" enjoy repoſe. Convinced that the cauſe of France is the cauſe " of all mankind, and that as liberty cannot be purchaſed by a " wiſh, I gladly ſhare with you the dangers and honours neceſ- " ſary to ſucceſs.

" I am well aware that the moment of any great change " ſuch as that accompliſhed on the 10th of Auguſt, is una- " voidably the moment of terror and confuſion. The mind, " highly agitated by hope, ſuſpicion, and apprehenſion, continues " without reſt till the change be accompliſhed. But let us now " look calmy and confidentially forward, and ſucceſs is certain. " It is no longer the paltry cauſe of Kings, or of this, or of that " individual, that calls France and her armies into action. It " is the great cauſe of ALL. It is the eſtabliſhment of a new " æra, that ſhall blot Deſpotiſm from the earth, and fix, on the " laſting principles of Peace and Citizenſhip, the great Republic " of Man.

" It has been my fate to have borne a ſhare in the com- " mencement and complete eſtabliſhment of one Revolution (I " mean the Revolution of America). The ſucceſs and events " of that Revolution are encouraging to us. The proſperity " and happineſs that have ſince flowed to that country, have " amply rewarded her for all the hardſhips ſhe endured, and " for all the dangers ſhe encountered.

" The principles on which that Revolution began, have ex- " tended themſelves to Europe; and an over-ruling Providence " is regenerating the Old World by the principles of the New. " The diſtance of America from all the other parts of the " globe, did not admit of her carrying thoſe principles beyond " her own ſituation. It is to the peculiar honour of France, " that ſhe now raiſes the ſtandard of Liberty for all nations; " and in fighting her own battles, contends for the rights of " all mankind.

" The ſame ſpirit of fortitude that inſured ſucceſs to Ame- " rica, will inſure it to France; for it is impoſſible to conquer " a nation determined to be free! The military circumſtances " that now unite themſelves to France, are ſuch as the Deſ- " pots of the earth know nothing of, and can form no calcu-

" lation

" lation upon. They know not what it is to fight againſt a
" nation. They have only been accuſtomed to make war
" upon each other, and they know from ſyſtem and practice,
" how to calculate the probable ſucceſs of deſpot againſt deſ-
" pot; and here their knowledge and their experience end.

" But in a conteſt like the preſent, a new and boundleſs
" variety of circumſtances ariſes, that deranges all ſuch cuſ-
" tomary calculations. When a whole nation acts as an army,
" the deſpot knows not the extent of the power againſt which
" he contends. New armies riſe againſt him with the neceſ-
" ſity of the moment. It is then that the difficulties of an
" invading enemy multiply, as in the former caſe they dimi-
" niſhed; and he finds them at their height when he expected
" them to end.

" The only war that has any ſimilarity of circumſtances
" with the preſent, is the late Revolution-war in America.
" On her part, as it now is in France, it was a war of the
" whole nation.—There it was that the enemy, by beginning
" to conquer, put himſelf in a condition of being conquered.
" His firſt victories prepared him for defeat. He advanced
" till he could not retreat, and found himſelf in the midſt of
" a nation of armies.

" Were it now to be propoſed to the Auſtrians and Pruſ-
" ſians to eſcort them into the middle of France, and there
" leave them to make the moſt of ſuch a ſituation, they would
" ſee too much into the dangers of it to accept the offer, and
" the ſame dangers would attend them could they arrive there
" by any other means. Where then is the military policy of
" their attempting to obtain by force, that which they would
" refuſe by choice. But to reaſon with deſpots is throwing
" reaſon away. The beſt of arguments is a vigorous prepa-
" ration.

" Man is ever a ſtranger to the ways by which Providence
" regulates the order of things. The interference of foreign
" Deſpots may ſerve to introduce into their own enſlaved
" countries the principles they come to oppoſe. Liberty and

" Equality

" Equality are bleſſings too great to be the inheritance of
" France alone. It is honour to her to be their firſt cham-
" pion; and ſhe may now ſay to her enemies, with a mighty
" voice, " O! ye Auſtrians, ye Pruſſians! ye who now turn
" your bayonets againſt us; it is for all Europe; it is for all
" mankind, and not for France alone, that ſhe raiſes the ſtandard
" of Liberty and Equality!"

" The public cauſe has hitherto ſuffered from the contradic-
" tions contained in the Conſtitution of the former Conſtituent
" Aſſembly. Thoſe contradictions have ſerved to divide the
" opinions of individuals at home, and to obſcure the great
" principles of the Revolution in other countries. But when
" thoſe contradictions ſhall be removed, and the Conſtitution
" be made conformable to the Declaration of Rights; when
" the bagatelles of monarchy, royalty, regency, and hereditary
" ſucceſſion, ſhall be expoſed, with all their abſurdities, a new
" ray of light will be thrown over the world, and the Revo-
" lution will derive new ſtrength by being univerſally under-
" ſtood.

" The ſcene that now opens itſelf to France extends far
" beyond the boundaries of her own dominions. Every Na-
" tion is becoming her colleague, and every Court is become
" her enemy. It is now the cauſe of all nations againſt the
" cauſe of all Courts. The terror that deſpotiſm felt, clan-
" deſtinely begot a confederation of Deſpots; and their attack
" upon France was produced by their fears at home.

" In entering on this great ſcene, greater than any nation
" has yet been called to act in, let us ſay to the agitated
" mind, be calm. Let us puniſh by inſtructing, rather than
" by revenge. Let us begin the new æra by a greatneſs of
" friendſhip, and hail the approach of union and ſucceſs.

" Your Fellow Citizen,

" THOMAS PAINE."

Thomas

Thomas Chapman (Sworn),

Examined by Mr. Garrow.

Q. What are you by buſineſs?

A. A bookſeller.

Q. Was you acquainted with Mr. Thomas Paine?

A. I was.

Q. Did you at any time print any book for him?

A. I did.

Q. What was it?

A. A work entitled Rights of Man.

Q. Did you print one or two parts of that work?

A. I printed the firſt part and part of the ſecond.

Q. Was it at the earlier part of the ſecond part as you call it, or the latter part?

A. The earlier part.

Q. You did not finiſh it?

A. I did not.

Q. Look at theſe two books, and tell me whether you believe theſe to be copies printed by you?

A. I printed the firſt part entirely.

Q. How far did you proceed in printing the ſecond part?

A. I think I printed as far as letter K, that is, I finiſhed what we call the letter or ſignature of ſheet I, which includes the 128th page; the larger edition, I had the copy of almoſt the whole of the remaining part, and my people had compoſed it, or ſet it up in the type, but I did not conclude it.

Q. What did you do with that part you did not finiſh?

A. Returned it into the hands of Mr. Paine by a ſervant of mine.

Q. After the book was completed, did you ever converſe with Mr. Paine about it?

A. I do not think I ſaw Mr. Paine upon the buſineſs after the work was quite finiſhed.

(*The*

(The following paſſages were read from the firſt part of the "Rights of Man.")

(Page 57, 8vo. and Page 24, 12mo. editions.)

"Can then Mr. Burke produce the Engliſh Conſtitution? If "he cannot, we may fairly conclude, that though it has been ſo "much talked about, no ſuch thing as a conſtitution exiſts, or "ever did exiſt, and conſequently that the people have yet a "conſtitution to form."

(Page 59, 8vo. and Page 25, 12mo. editions.)

"A government on the principles on which conſtitutional "governments ariſing out of ſociety are eſtabliſhed, cannot have "the right of altering itſelf. If it had, it would be arbitrary. "It might make itſelf what it pleaſed; and wherever ſuch a right "is ſet up, it ſhews there is no conſtitution. The act by which "the Engliſh Parliament empowered itſelf to ſit ſeven years, "ſhews there is no conſtitution in England. It might, by the "ſame ſelf-authority, have ſat any greater number of years, or "for life. The Bill which the preſent Mr. Pitt brought into "parliament ſome years ago, to reform parliament, was on the "ſame erroneous principle. The right of reform is in the "nation in its original character, and the conſtitutional me-"thod would be by a general convention elected for the pur-"poſe. There is, moreover, a paradox in the idea of veſted "bodies reforming themſelves."

(Page 63, 8vo. and 27, 12mo. editions.)

"Much is to be learned from the French conſtitution. "Conqueſt and tyranny tranſplanted themſelves with William "the Conqueror from Normandy into England, and the coun-"try is yet diſfigured with the marks. May then the exam-"ple of all France contribute to regenerate the freedom which "a province of it deſtroyed!"

(*Page* 161, 8*vo. and page* 74, 12*mo. editions.*)

" The two modes of Government which prevail in the " world, are, *firſt*, Government by election and repreſentation; " *Secondly*, Government by hereditary ſucceſſion. The former " is generally known by the name of republic; the latter by " that of monarchy and ariſtocracy.

" Thoſe two diſtinct and oppoſite forms, erect themſelves " on the two diſtinct and oppoſite baſes of Reaſon and Igno- " rance.—As the exerciſe of Government requires talents and " abilities, and as talents and abilities cannot have hereditary " deſcent, it is evident that hereditary ſucceſſion requires a belief " from man, to which his reaſon cannot ſubſcribe, and which " can only be eſtabliſhed upon his ignorance; and the more " ignorant any country is, the better it is fitted for this ſpecies " of Government."

(*Page* 165, 8*vo. and Page* 76, 12*mo. editions.*)

" From the Revolutions of America and France, and the " ſymptoms that have appeared in other countries, it is evident " that the opinion of the world is changed with reſpect to ſyſtems " of Government, and that revolutions are not within the compaſs " of political calculations. The progreſs of time and circum- " ſtances, which men aſſign to the accompliſhment of great " changes, is too mechanical to meaſure the force of the mind, " and the rapidity of reflection, by which revolutions are " generated: All the old governments have received a ſhock " from thoſe that already appear, and which were once more im- " probable, and are a greater ſubject of wonder, than a general " revolution in Europe would be now.

" When we ſurvey the wretched condition of man under the " monarchical and hereditary ſyſtems of government, dragged from " his home by one power, or driven by another, and impoveriſhed " by taxes more than by enemies, it becomes evident that thoſe " ſyſtems are bad, and that a general revolution in the principle " and conſtruction of Governments is neceſſary.

" What

" What is government more than the management of the " affairs of a Nation? It is not, and from its nature cannot be, " the property of any particular man or family, but of the whole " community, at whoſe expence it is ſupported; and though by " force or contrivance it has been uſurped into an inheritance, " the uſurpation cannot alter the right of things. Sovereignty, " as a matter of right, appertains to the Nation only, and not to " any individual; and a Nation has at all times an inherent in- " defeaſible right to aboliſh any form of Government it finds in- " convenient, and eſtabliſh ſuch as accords with its intereſt, " diſpoſition, and happineſs. The romantic and barbarous " diſtinction of men into Kings and ſubjects, though it may ſuit " the condition of courtiers, cannot that of citizens; and is ex- " ploded by the principle upon which Governments are now " founded. Every citizen is a member of the ſovereignty, and, " as ſuch, can acknowledge no perſonal ſubjection; and his " obedience can be only to the laws.

" When men think of what Government is, they muſt neceſ- " ſarily ſuppoſe it to poſſeſs a knowledge of all the objects and " matters upon which its authority is to be exerciſed. In this " view of Government, the republican ſyſtem, as eſtabliſhed by " America and France, operates to embrace the whole of a " Nation; and the knowledge neceſſary to the intereſt of all the " parts, is to be found in the centre, which the parts by repre- " ſentation form: But the old Governments are on a con- " ſtruction that excludes knowledge as well as happineſs; Go- " vernment by Monks, who know nothing of the world beyond " the walls of a Convent, is as conſiſtent as government by " Kings.

" What were formerly called Revolutions, were little more " than a change of perſons, or an alteration of local circumſtances. " They roſe and fell like things of courſe, and had nothing in " their exiſtence or their fate that could influence beyond the " ſpot that produced them. But what we now ſee in the world, " from the Revolutions of America and France, is a renovation " of the natural order of things, a ſyſtem of principles as univerſal

" as

" as truth and the exiſtence of man, and combining moral with " political happineſs and national proſperity.

" I. *Men are born and always continue free, and equal in* " *reſpect of their rights. Civil diſtinctions, therefore, can be* " *founded only on public utility.*

" II. *The end of all political aſſociations is the preſervation of* " *the natural and impreſcriptible rights of man; and theſe rights* " *are liberty, property, ſecurity, and reſiſtance of oppreſſion.*

" III. *The Nation is eſſentially the ſource of all Sovereignty;* " *nor can any* INDIVIDUAL, *or* ANY BODY OF MEN, *be entitled* " *to any authority which is not expreſsly derived from it.*"

(Page 171, 8*vo. and Page* 78, 12*mo. editions.)*

" As it is not difficult to perceive, from the enlightened ſtate " of mankind, that hereditary Governments are verging to their " decline, and that Revolutions on the broad baſis of national " ſovereignty, and Government by repreſentation, are making " their way in Europe, it would be an act of wiſdom to anti- " cipate their approach, and produce Revolutions by reaſon and " accommodation, rather than commit them to the iſſue of con- " vulſions.

" From what we now ſee, nothing of reform in the political " world ought to be held improbable. It is an age of Revo- " lutions, in which every thing may be looked for. The intrigue " of Courts, by which the ſyſtem of war is kept up, may provoke " a confederation of Nations to aboliſh it: and an European " Congreſs, to patronize the progreſs of free Government, and " promote the civilization of Nations with each other, is an " event nearer in probability, than once were the revolutions and " alliance of France and America."

(The following Paſſages were read from the Second Parts of the " *Rights of Man.*")

(Page 21, 8*vo. edition.)*

" All hereditary government is, in its nature, tyranny.—An " heritable crown, or an heritable throne, or by what other " fanciful name ſuch things may be called, have no other ſigni-

" ficant explanation than that mankind are heritable property. " To inherit a government is to inherit the people, as if they " were flocks and herds."

(Page 27, 8vo. edition.)

" How irrational then is the hereditary ſyſtem, which eſtabliſhes " channels of power, in company with which wiſdom refuſes to " flow.—By continuing this abſurdity, man is perpetually in " contradiction with himſelf; he accepts, for a King, or a Chief " Magiſtrate, or a Legiſlator, a perſon whom he would not elect " for a Conſtable."

(Page 47, 8vo. edition.)

" This Convention met at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, of " which General Waſhington was elected Preſident. He was " not, at that time, connected with any of the State Govern- " ments, or with Congreſs. He delivered up his commiſſion " when the war ended, and ſince then had lived a private " Citizen.

" The Convention went deeply into all the ſubjects; and " having, after a variety of debate and inveſtigation, agreed " among themſelves upon the ſeveral parts of a Federal Con- " ſtitution, the next queſtion was, the manner of giving it au- " thority and practice.

" For this purpoſe they did not, like a cabal of Courtiers, ſend " for a Dutch Stadtholder, or a German Elector; but they " referred the whole matter to the ſenſe and intereſt of the " country.

" They firſt directed, that the propoſed Conſtitution ſhould be " publiſhed. Secondly, that each ſtate ſhould elect a Convention, " expreſsly for the purpoſe of taking it into conſideration, and " of ratifying or rejecting it; and that as ſoon as the approbation " and ratification of any nine ſtates ſhould be given, that thoſe " ſtates ſhould proceed to the election of their proportion of " Members to the New Federal Government, and that the " operation of it ſhould then begin, and the former Federal " Government ceaſe."

(Page

(Page 52, 8vo. edition.)

" The hiſtory of the Edwards and the Henries, and up to the " commencement of the Stuarts, exhibits as many inſtances of " tyranny as could be acted within the limits to which the nation " had reſtricted it. The Stuarts endeavoured to paſs thoſe " limits, and their fate is well known. In all thoſe inſtances, " we ſee nothing of a Conſtitution, but only of reſtrictions, or " aſſumed power.

" After this another William, deſcended from the ſame ſtock, " and claiming from the ſame origin, gained poſſeſſion; and, of " the two evils, James and William, the nation preferred what " it thought the leaſt; ſince, from circumſtances, it muſt take " one. The act, called the Bill of Rights, comes here into " view. What is it but a bargain, which the parts of the " Government made with each other, to divide powers, profits, " and privileges: you ſhall have ſo much, and I will have the " reſt; and, with reſpect to the nation, it ſaid, for *your ſhare*, " *YOU ſhall have the right of petitioning.* This being the caſe, " the Bill of Rights is, more properly, a bill of wrongs, and of " inſult. As to what is called the Convention Parliament, it " was a thing that made itſelf, and then made the authority by " which it acted. A few perſons got together, and called them- " ſelves by that name. Several of them had never been elected, " and none of them for the purpoſe.

" From the time of William a ſpecies of Government aroſe, " iſſuing out of this Coalition Bill of Rights; and more ſo, " ſince the corruption introduced at the Hanover Succeſſion, " by the agency of Walpole; that can be deſcribed by no other " name than a Deſpotic Legiſlation. Though the parts may " embarraſs each other, the whole has no bounds; and the only " right it acknowledges, out of itſelf, is the right of petitioning. " Where then is the Conſtitution, either that gives, or that re- " ſtrains power?

" It is not becauſe a part of the Government is elective, that " makes it leſs a deſpotiſm, if the perſons ſo elected poſſeſs after- " wards, as a Parliament, unlimited powers. Election, in this

 " caſe,

" caſe, becomes ſeparated from repreſentation, and the candidates " are candidates for deſpotiſm.

" I cannot believe that any nation, reaſoning on its own " rights, would have thought of calling thoſe things a *Con-* " *ſtitution*, if the cry of Conſtitution had not been ſet up by " the Government."

(Page 63, 8 *vo. edition—a Note.)*

" * With reſpect to the Two Houſes of which the Engliſh " Parliament is compoſed, they appear to be effectually in- " fluenced into one; and, as a Legiſlature, to have no temper " of its own. The Miniſter, whoever he at any time may be, " touches it as with an opium wand, and it ſleeps obedience.

" But if we look at the diſtinct abilities of the Two Houſes, " the difference will appear ſo great, as to ſhew the inconſiſtency " of placing power where there can be no certainty of the judg- " ment to uſe it. Wretched as the ſtate of repreſentation is in " England, it is manhood compared with what is called the " Houſe of Lords; and ſo little is this nick-named Houſe " regarded, that the people ſcarcely inquire, at any time, what it " is doing. It appears alſo to be moſt under influence, and " the furtheſt removed from the general intereſt of the nation. " In the debate on engaging in the Ruſſian and Turkiſh war, " the majority in the Houſe of Peers, in favour of it, was up- " wards of ninety; when in the other Houſe, which is more " than double its numbers, the majority was ſixty-three."

(Page 65, 8 *vo. edition.)*

" But in whatever manner the ſeparate parts of a Conſtitution " may be arranged, there is *one* general principle that diſtinguiſhes " Freedom from Slavery, which is, that all *hereditary Govern-* " *ment over a people is to them a ſpecies of Slavery, and repreſen-* " *tative Government is Freedom.*"

(Page 107, 8 *vo. edition.)*

" Having thus glanced at ſome of the defects of the Two " Houſes of Parliament, I proceed to what is called the Crown, " upon which I ſhall be very conciſe.

" It

" It ſignifies a nominal office of a million ſterling a year, " the buſineſs of which conſiſts in receiving the money.— " Whether the perſon be wiſe or fooliſh, ſane or inſane, a native " or a foreigner, matters not. Every Miniſtry acts upon the " ſame idea that Mr. Burke writes; namely, that the people " muſt be hood-winked, and held in ſuperſtitious ignorance by " ſome bugbear or other; and what is called the Crown anſwers " this purpoſe, and therefore it anſwers all the purpoſes to be " expected from it. This is more than can be ſaid of the other " two branches."

Mr. Erſkine. I deſire the preface to be read.

Mr. Attorney-General. Read the dedication firſt, and then the preface.

Mr. Erſkine. You may read the whole book, if you pleaſe.

The Dedication and Preface read.

" *To* M. De La Fayette.

" After an acquaintance of nearly fifteen years, in difficult " ſituations in America, and various conſultations in Europe, I " feel a pleaſure in preſenting to you this ſmall treatiſe, in grati- " tude for your ſervices to my beloved America, and as a teſti- " mony of my eſteem for the virtues, public and private, which " I know you to poſſeſs.

" The only point upon which I could ever diſcover that we " differed, was not as to principles of government, but as to " time. For my own part, I think it equally as injurious to " good principles to permit them to linger, as to puſh them on " too faſt. That which you ſuppoſe accompliſhable in fourteen " or fifteen years, I may believe practicable in a much ſhorter " period. Mankind, as it appears to me, are always ripe enough " to underſtand their true intereſt, provided it be preſented clearly " to their underſtanding, and that in a manner not to create ſuſpi- " cion by any thing like ſelf-deſign, nor offend by aſſuming too " much. Where we would wiſh to reform we muſt not re- " proach.

" When the American revolution was eſtabliſhed, I felt a diſ- " poſition to ſit ſerenely down and enjoy the calm. It did not

" appear to me that any object could afterwards arise great " enough to make me quit tranquillity, and feel as I had felt be- " fore. But when principle, and not place, is the energetic cause " of action, a man, I find, is every where the same.

" I am now once more in the public world; and as I have not " a right to contemplate on so many years of remaining life as " you have, I am resolved to labour as fast as I can; and as I am " anxious for your aid and your company, I wish you to hasten " your principles and overtake me.

" If you make a campaign the ensuing spring, which it is most " probable there will be no occasion for, I will come and join " you. Should the campaign commence, I hope it will termi- " nate in the extinction of German despotism, and in establish- " ing the freedom of all Germany. When France shall be sur- " rounded with revolutions, she will be in peace and safety, and " her taxes, as well as those of Germany, will consequently be- " come less.

" Your sincere,

" Affectionate Friend,

" THOMAS PAINE."

" *London, Feb.* 9, 1792."

" PREFACE.

" When I began the chapter entitled the " *Conclusion*" in the " former part of the RIGHTS OF MAN, published last year, " it was my intention to have extended it to a greater length; " but in casting the whole matter in my mind which I wished to " add, I found that I must either make the work too bulky, or " contract my plan too much. I therefore brought it to a close " as soon as the subject would admit, and reserved what I had " further to say to another opportunity.

" Several other reasons contributed to produce this determi- " nation. I wished to know the manner in which a work, writ- " ten in a style of thinking and expression different to what had " been customary in England, would be received before I ven- " tured farther. A great field was opening to the view of man-

" kind

" kind by means of the French Revolution. Mr. Burke's " outrageous oppoſition thereto brought the controverſy into " England. He attacked principles which he knew (from infor- " mation) I would conteſt with him, becauſe they are principles " I believe to be good, and which I have contributed to eſtabliſh, " and conceive myſelf bound to defend. Had he not urged the " controverſy, I had moſt probably been a ſilent man.

" Another reaſon for deferring the remainder of the work " was, that Mr. Burke promiſed in his firſt publication to renew " the ſubject at another opportunity, and to make a compariſon " of what he called the Engliſh and French conſtitutions, I " therefore held myſelf in reſerve for him. He has publiſhed " two works ſince, without doing this; which he certainly " would not have omitted, had the compariſon been in his fa- " vour.

" In his laſt work, " *His appeal from the new to the old* " *Whigs*," he has quoted about ten pages from the *Rights of* " *Man*, and having given himſelf the trouble of doing this, ſays, " he ſhall not attempt in the ſmalleſt degree to refute them," " meaning the principles therein contained. I am enough ac- " quainted with Mr. Burke to know, that he would if he could. " But inſtead of conteſting them, he immediately after conſoles " himſelf with ſaying, that " he has done his part."—He has " not done his part. He has not performed his promiſe of a " compariſon of conſtitutions. He ſtarted the controverſy, he " gave the challenge, and has fled from it; and he is now a *caſe* " *in point* with his own opinion, that, " *the age of chivalry is* " *gone!*"

" The title, as well as the ſubſtance of his laſt work, his " *Appeal*," is his condemnation. Principles muſt ſtand on their " own merits, and if they are good they certainly will. To " put them under the ſhelter of other mens' authority, as " Mr. Burke has done, ſerves to bring them into ſuſpicion. " Mr. Burke is not very fond of dividing his honours, but " in this caſe he is artfully dividing the diſgrace. But who are " thoſe to whom Mr. Burke has made his appeal? A ſet of " childiſh thinkers and half-way politicians born in the laſt

" century; men who went no farther with any principle than as
" it ſuited their purpoſe as a party; the nation was always left
" out of the queſtion; and this has been the character of every
" party from that day to this. The nation ſees nothing in ſuch
" works, or ſuch politics worthy its attention. A little matter
" will move a party, but it muſt be ſomething great that moves
" a nation.

" Though I ſee nothing in Mr. Burke's Appeal worth taking
" much notice of, there is, however, one expreſſion upon which
" I ſhall offer a few remarks.—After quoting largely from the
" *Rights of Man*, and declining to conteſt the principles con-
" tained in that work, he ſays, " This will moſt probably be
" done *(if ſuch writings ſhall be thought to deſerve any other re-*
" *futation than that of criminal juſtice)* by others, who may
" think with Mr. Burke and with the ſame zeal."

" In the firſt place, it has not yet been done by any body.
" Not leſs, I believe, than eight or ten pamphlets intended as
" anſwers to the former part of the " Rights of Man" have been
" publiſhed by different perſons, and not one of them, to my
" knowledge, has extended to a ſecond edition, nor are even the
" titles of them ſo much as generally remembered. As I am
" averſe to unneceſſarily multiplying publications, I have an-
" ſwered none of them. And as I believe that a man may
" write himſelf out of reputation when no body elſe can do
" it, I am careful to avoid that rock.

" But as I would decline unneceſſary publications on the
" one hand, ſo would I avoid every thing that might appear
" like ſullen pride on the other. If Mr. Burke, or any perſon
" on his ſide the queſtion, will produce an anſwer to the
" Rights of Man," that ſhall extend to an half, or even to
" a fourth part of the number of copies to which the Rights
" of Man extended, I will reply to his work. But until this
" be done, I ſhall ſo far take the ſenſe of the public for my
" guide (and the world knows I am not a flatterer) that
" what they do not think worth while to read, is not worth
" mine to anſwer. I ſuppoſe the number of copies to which
" the firſt part of the *Rights of Man* extended, taking Eng-

" land,

" land, Scotland, and Ireland, is not leſs than between forty " and fifty thouſand.

" I now come to remark on the remaining part of the " quotation I have made from Mr. Burke.

" If," ſays he, " ſuch writings ſhall be thought to deſerve " any other refutation than that of *criminal* juſtice."

" Pardoning the pun, it muſt be *criminal* juſtice indeed " that ſhould condemn a work as a ſubſtitute for not being " able to refute it. The greateſt condemnation that could be " paſſed upon it would be a refutation. But in proceeding " by the method Mr. Burke alludes to, the condemnation " would, in the final event, paſs upon the criminality of the " proceſs and not upon the work, and in this caſe, I had " rather be the author, than be either the judge, or the jury, " that ſhould condemn it.

" But to come at once to the point. I have differed from " ſome profeſſional gentlemen on the ſubject of proſecutions, " and I ſince find they are falling into my opinion, which I " will here ſtate as fully, but as conciſely as I can.

" I will firſt put a caſe with reſpect to any law, and then " compare it with a government, or with what in England is, " or has been, called a conſtitution.

" It would be an act of deſpotiſm, or what in England is " called arbitrary power, to make a law to prohibit inveſti- " gating the principles, good or bad, on which ſuch a law, " or any other is founded.

" If a law be bad, it is one thing to oppoſe the practice " of it, but it is quite a different thing to expoſe its errors, " to reaſon on its defects, and to ſhew cauſe why it ſhould " be repealed, or why another ought to be ſubſtituted in its " place. I have always held it an opinion (making it alſo " my practice) that it is better to obey a bad law, making " uſe at the ſame time of every argument to ſhew its errors " and procure its repeal, than forcibly to violate it; becauſe " the precedent of breaking a bad law might weaken the " force, and lead to a diſcretionary violation of thoſe which " are good.

" The

" The caſe is the ſame with reſpect to principles and forms " of government, or to what are called conſtitutions and the " parts of which they are compoſed.

" It is for the good of nations, and not for the emolument " or aggrandizement of particular individuals, that government " ought to be eſtabliſhed, and that mankind are at the expence " of ſupporting it. The defects of every government and " conſtitution, both as to principle and form muſt, on a parity " of reaſoning, be as open to diſcuſſion as the defects of a " law, and it is a duty which every man owes to ſociety to " point them out. When thoſe defects, and the means of " remedying them are generally ſeen by a nation, that nation " will reform its government or its conſtitution in the one " caſe, as the government repealed or reformed the law in the " other. The operation of government is reſtricted to the " making and the adminiſtering of laws; but it is to a nation " that the right of forming or reforming, generating or rege- " nerating conſtitutions and governments belong; and conſe- " quently thoſe ſubjects, as ſubjects of inveſtigation, are always " before a country *as a matter of right*, and cannot, without " invading the general rights of that country, be made ſubjects " for proſecution. On this ground I will meet Mr. Burke " whenever he pleaſe. It is better that the whole argument " ſhould come out, than to ſeek to ſtifle it. It was himſelf " that opened the controverſy, and he ought not to deſert it.

" I do not believe that monarchy and ariſtocracy will con- " tinue ſeven years longer in any of the enlightened countries " in Europe. If better reaſons can be ſhewn for them than " againſt them, they will ſtand; if the contrary, they will not. " Mankind are not now to be told they ſhall not think, or " they ſhall not read; and publications that go no farther than " to inveſtigate principles of government, to invite men to " reaſon and to reflect, and to ſhew the errors and excellen- " cies of different ſyſtems, have a right to appear. If they " do not excite attention, they are not worth the trouble of " a proſecution; and if they do, the proſecution will amount " to nothing, ſince it cannot amount to a prohibition of read-

" ing,

" ing. This would be a ſentence on the public, inſtead of " the author, and would alſo be the moſt effectual mode of " making or haſtening revolutions.

" On all caſes that apply univerſally to a nation, with re- " ſpect to ſyſtems of government, a jury of *twelve* men is not " competent to decide. Where there are no witneſſes to be " examined, no facts to be proved, and where the whole " matter is before the whole public, and the merits or deme- " rits of it reſting on their opinion; and where there is no- " thing to be known in a court, but what every body knows " out of it, every twelve men is equally as good a jury as " the other, and would moſt probably reverſe each other's " verdict; or from the variety of their opinions, not be able " to form one. It is one caſe, whether a nation approve a " work, or a plan; but is quite another caſe, whether it will " commit to any ſuch jury the power of determining whether " that nation have a right to, or ſhall reform its government, " or not. I mention thoſe caſes, that Mr. Burke may ſee I " have not written on Government without reflecting on what " is Law, as well as on what are Rights.—The only effectual " jury in ſuch caſes would be, a convention of the whole nation " fairly elected; for in all ſuch caſes the whole nation is the " vicinage. If Mr. Burke will propoſe ſuch a jury, I will " wave all privileges of being the citizen of another country, " and, defending its principles, abide the iſſue, provided he will " do the ſame; for my opinion is, that his work and his prin- " ciples would be condemned inſtead of mine.

" As to the prejudices which men have from education and " habit, in favour of any particular form or ſyſtem of govern- " ment, thoſe prejudices have yet to ſtand the teſt of reaſon " and reflection. In fact, ſuch prejudices are nothing. No " man is prejudiced in favour of a thing, knowing it to be " wrong. He is attached to it on the belief of its being right; " and when he ſees it is not ſo, the prejudice will be gone. We " have but a defective idea of what prejudice is. It might be " ſaid, that until men think for themſelves the whole is preju- " dice, and *not opinion*; for that only is opinion which is the

" reſult

" result of reaſon and reflection. I offer this remark, that Mr. " Burke may not conſide too much in what has been the cuſ- " tomary prejudices of the country.

" I do not believe that the people of England have ever been " fairly and candidly dealt by. They have been impoſed upon " by parties, and by men aſſuming the character of leaders. " It is time that the nation ſhould riſe above thoſe trifles. It " is time to diſmiſs that inattention which has ſo long been " the encouraging cauſe of ſtretching taxation to exceſs. It " is time to diſmiſs all thoſe ſongs and toaſts which are cal- " culated to enſlave, and operate to ſuffocate reflection. On " all ſuch ſubjects men have but to think, and they will nei- " ther act wrong nor be miſled. To ſay that any people are " not fit for freedom, is to make poverty their choice, and to " ſay they had rather be loaded with taxes than not. If ſuch " a caſe could be proved, it would equally prove, that thoſe " who govern are not fit to govern them, for they are a part " of the ſame national maſs.

" But admitting governments to be changed all over Europe; " it certainly may be done without convulſion or revenge. It is " not worth making changes or revolutions, unleſs it be for " ſome great national benefit; and when this ſhall appear to a " nation, the danger will be, as in America and France, to " thoſe who oppoſe; and with this reflection I cloſe my " Preface.

" THOMAS PAINE.

" *London, Feb.* 9, 1792."

Mr. Garrow. I had diſmiſſed this book, but the reading of the preface has reminded me of ſome paſſages I had overlooked.

The following paſſages were read.

(*Page* 161, 8*vo. edition.*)

" The fraud hypocriſy, and impoſition of governments are " now beginning to be too well underſtood to promiſe them any " long career. The farce of monarchy and ariſtocracy, in all

" countries

" countries is following that of chivalry, and Mr. Burke is dreſſ-
" ing for the funeral. Let it then paſs quietly to the tomb of all
" other follies and the mourners be comforted.

" The time is not very diſtant when England will laugh at
" itſelf for ſending to Holland, Hanover, Zell, or Brunſwick
" for men, at the expence of a million a year, who underſtood
" neither her laws, her language, nor her intereſt, and whoſe
" capacities would ſcarcely have fitted them for the office of a
" pariſh conſtable. If government could be truſted to ſuch
" hands, it muſt be ſome eaſy and ſimple thing indeed, and ma-
" terials fit for all the purpoſes may be found in every town and
" village in England."

(*Page* 161, 8*vo. edition.*)

" Within the ſpace of a few years we have ſeen two Revolu-
" tions, thoſe of America and France. In the former, the con-
" teſt was long, and the conflict ſevere; in the latter, the nation
" acted with ſuch a conſolidated impulſe, that having no foreign
" enemy to contend with, the revolution was complete in power
" the moment it appeared. From both thoſe inſtances it is evi-
" dent, that the greateſt forces that can be brought into the field
" of revolutions, are reaſon and common intereſt. Where theſe
" can have the opportunity of acting, oppoſition dies with fear,
" or crumbles away by conviction. It is a great ſtanding which
" they have now univerſally obtained; and we may hereafter hope
" to ſee revolutions, or changes in governments, produced with
" the ſame quiet operation by which any meaſure, determinable
" by reaſon and diſcuſſion, is accompliſhed.

" When a nation changes its opinion and habits of thinking,
" it is no longer to be governed as before; but it would not
" only be wrong, but bad policy, to attempt by force what
" ought to be accompliſhed by reaſon. Rebellion conſiſts in
" forcibly oppoſing the general will of a nation whether by a
" party or by a government. There ought, therefore, to be in
" every nation a method of occaſionally aſcertaining the ſtate of
" public opinion with reſpect to government. On this point
" the old government of France was ſuperior to the preſent go-

" vernment

" vernment of England, becauſe, on extraordinary occaſions, " recourſe could be had to what was then called the States-Ge- " neral. But in England there are no ſuch occaſional bodies; " and as to thoſe who are now called Repreſentatives, a great " part of them are mere machines of the court, placemen, and " dependants."

(*Page* 170, 8*vo. edition—a note.*)

" I know it is the opinion of many of the moſt enlightened " characters in France, (there always will be thoſe who ſee far- " ther into events than others) not only among the general maſs " of citizens, but of many of the principal members of the for- " mer National Aſſembly, that the monarchical plan will not con- " tinue many years in that country. They have found out, that " as wiſdom cannot be made hereditary, power ought not; and " that, for a man to merit a million ſterling a year from a na- " tion, he ought to have a mind capable of comprehending from " an atom to a univerſe; which, if he had, he would be above " receiving the pay. But they wiſhed not to appear to lead the " nation faſter than its own reaſon and intereſt dictated. In all " the converſations where I have been preſent upon this ſubject, " the idea always was, that when ſuch a time, from the general " opinion of the nation, ſhall arrive, that the honourable and " liberal method would be, to make a handſome preſent, in fee " ſimple, to the perſon whoever he may be, that ſhall then be in " the monarchical office, and for him to retire to the enjoyment of " private life, poſſeſſing his ſhare of general rights and privi- " leges, and to be no more accountable to the public for his time " and his conduct than any other citizen."

Mr. Garrow. I ſhall now return to the proceedings of the Conſtitutional Society, read an entry at a Meeting of the 5th of October, 1792.

It was read.

" At a meeting of the ſociety held at the Crown and Anchor- " Tavern, Strand, on Friday, October 5, 1792.

" Mr. J. F. Tuffin, in the chair.

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Sturch, Dr. Maxwell, " Mr. Bonny, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Joyce,

" Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Walford, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Walſh,
" Dr. Edwards, Mr. J. Adams, Mr. J. Williams, Mr.
" Hardy, Mr. Sinclair.

" Ordered, That the letter from the London Correſponding
" Society, entered on the minutes of the laſt Meeting, together
" with the reſolution of the ſociety thereon, be publiſhed in the
" newſpapers.

" Read the following letter from Mr. Joel Barlow, to the
" Society for Conſtitutional Information, London:

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have juſt publiſhed a ſmall Treatiſe, in a letter to the
" National Convention of France, on the defects of the Conſti-
" tution of 1791, and the extent of the amendments which ought
" to be applied. As the true principles of Government are the
" ſame in all countries, being founded on the Rights of Man,
" which are univerſal and impreſcriptible, I conceive the ſubject
" of this Treatiſe cannot be foreign to the great object of your
" aſſociation, of which you have done me the favour to make
" me an honorary member; I, therefore, preſent a copy of it to
" you, with the ſame confidence that I have done to the National
" Convention, a confidence ariſing from a full conviction that
" the work is founded in truth and reaſon, although theſe prin-
" ciples ſeem not ſo immediately reducible to practice in the
" government of this country as in that of France, yet their
" examination can never be unſeaſonable.

" A great Revolution in the management of the affairs of
" nations, is, doubtleſs, ſoon to be expected through all Eu-
" rope; and, in the progreſs of mankind towards this attain-
" ment, it is greatly to be deſired that the convictions to be
" acquired from rational diſcuſſion, ſhould precede and preclude
" thoſe which muſt reſult from phyſical exertion.

" Such is certainly the ardent wiſh of your friend and adopted
" brother.

(Signed) " JOEL BARLOW."

" *London, October* 4, 1792."

" Reſolved,

" Reſolved, That the ſaid letter be taken into conſideration " at the next Meeting."

Mr. Garrow. We will read the thanks voted to Mr. Barlow for this letter at the next meeting of the ſociety, which was on the 12th of October.

The entry read.

" At a meeting of the Society held at the Crown and Anchor " Tavern, Strand, Friday 12th, October, 1792,

" PRESENT

" Mr. Buſh in the Chair,

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney, Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr. Sy- " monds, Mr. J. Martin, Mr. Moore, Mr. Merry, Mr. " Williams, Mr. Sturch, Mr. Banks, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. " G. Williams, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. Satchell, " Mr. Watts, Mr. Rutt, Mr. Hull, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Little- " john, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Aſpinal, Mr. Hardy, Mr. " Walford, Mr. Richter, Dr. Maxwell, Mr. M. Pearſon.

" Read Mr. Joel Barlow's letter to the National Convention " of France, on the defects in the Conſtitution of 1791, and " the extent of the amendments which ought to be applied.

" Reſolved, That Mr. Sturch be requeſted to draw up an " anſwer to the letter of Mr. Barlow read at the laſt meeting, " expreſſing how much pride this Society feel at having elected " him an honorary member.

Mr. Joſeph Johnſon. Examined by Mr. Garrow.

Q. I believe you are a bookſeller in St. Paul's Church Yard?

A. I am.

Q. And a publiſher?

A. I am.

Q. Be ſo good as look at that pamphlet which you have in your hand, and tell me whether that is of your publiſhing?

A. I really cannot anſwer that queſtion.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know the perſon who appears to be the author, Joel Barlow?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. It appears to be publiſhed by you, does it not?

A. It does, I publiſhed ſuch a pamphlet.

Q. I am not aſking you at preſent whether theſe ſheets of paper came out of your ſhop, have the goodneſs to attend to the queſtion, you know Mr. Barlow you ſay?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Did you publiſh for him at any time a work with the title of that pamphlet?

A. I did.

Q. Had you communication with him upon the ſubject of that publication?

A. I had.

Q. Did you from him receive the manuſcript?

A. I think I did.

Q. Have you any doubt of it?

A. Whether he gave it to me or the printer I am not ſure.

Q. Who paid you for it?

A. The ſale paid for it.

Q. Be ſo good as look at it, and tell me whether you have any doubt that it was publiſhed by you for Joel Barlow?

A. I cannot recollect the contents of pamphlets I publiſh.

Q. I ſuppoſe not, you publiſh a good many?

A. I believe it to be that.

Q. Have you any doubt about it?

A. I cannot ſay I have any doubt about it.

Q. You publiſh a great many books, and you do not always recollect the contents—did it happen to you to publiſh the Rights of Man?

A. No.

Q. Did you ſell any?

A. Yes.

Q. How many copies—I don't aſk you to within a thouſand, but about how many do you think you ſold?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Did you ſell many or few?

A. I cannot tell what you mean by many.

Q. Did you ſell ſome dozens?

A. Certainly I did—when that pamphlet was publiſhed it was ſuppoſed not to be a libel, afterwards it was proved to be one. I beg to aſk the court whether I am obliged to anſwer that queſtion?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. It will not expoſe you to any hazard to ſay whether you happen to know how many copies were publiſhed. The witneſs ought not to be aſked how many he publiſhed himſelf.

Mr. Garrow. Do you know of your own knowledge whether the ſale of the book called the Rights of Man was extenſive or not? I don't aſk you whether you ſold one yourſelf.

A. Yes, I think I can ſay that the ſale was large.

Q. Do you recollect receiving any number of a publication called a Letter to Mr. Dundas from Mr. Paine?

A. I did not publiſh it.

Q. I did not aſk if you publiſhed it, or whether you diſtributed any of it, but whether any certain number of copies of that publication were ſent to you by any body—I will aſſiſt your memory, were there not ſeven hundred ſent to you?

A. I think there were ſome ſent to me and forwarded into the country—a parcel was ſent to me to convey to the coach, I believe.

Q. Where from?

A. I do not know, but I ſuppoſe, from the printer's.

Q. Do not you know of your own knowledge by whoſe order they were ſent, or from whom they came?

A. No.

Q. You ſaid the ſale of Mr. Barlow's Letter paid for the expence—what quantity might be ſold?

A. Perhaps five or ſix hundred—I really do not know.

Extracts read from—" A Letter to the National Convention " of France, on the defects of the Conſtitution of 1791, and the " extent of the amendments which ought to be applied, by Joel " Barlow, Eſq. author of Advice to Privileged Orders."

(*From page* 1, *to the middle of page* 12.)

" Gentlemen the time is at laſt arrived when the people of " France, by reſorting to their own proper dignity, feel them- " ſelves at liberty to exerciſe their unembarraſſed reaſon, in " eſtabliſhing an equal government. The preſent criſis in your " affairs, marked by the aſſembling of a National Convention, " bears nearly the ſame relation to the laſt four years of your " hiſtory, as your whole revolution bears to the great accumu- " lated maſs of modern improvement, compared, therefore, with " all that is paſt, it is perhaps the moſt intereſting portion of the " moſt important period that Europe has hitherto ſeen.

" Under this impreſſion, and with the deepeſt ſenſe of the " magnitude of the ſubject which engages your attention, I take " a liberty which no ſlight motives could warrant in a ſtranger, " the liberty of offering a few obſervations on the buſineſs that " lies before you. Could I ſuppoſe, however, that any apology " were neceſſary for this intruſion, I ſhould not rely upon the " one here mentioned, but my intentions require no apology; " I demand to be heard, as a right. Your cauſe is that of hu- " man nature at large; you are the repreſentatives of mankind; " and though I am not literally one of your conſtituents, yet I " muſt be bound by your decrees. My happineſs will be ſeri- " ouſly affected by your deliberations; and in them I have an " intereſt, which nothing can deſtroy. I not only conſider all " mankind as forming but one great family, and therefore bound " by a natural ſympathy to regard each other's happineſs as " making part of their own; but I contemplate the French na- " tion at this moment as ſtanding in the place of the whole, " you have ſtepped forward with a gigantic ſtride to an enter- " prize which involves the intereſts of every ſurrounding nation;

" and what you began as juſtice to yourſelves, you are called " upon to finiſh as a duty to the human race.

" I believe no man cheriſhes a greater veneration than I have " uniformly done, for the National Aſſembly who framed that " Conſtitution, which I now preſume your conſtituents expect " you to reviſe. Perhaps the merits of that body of men will " never be properly appreciated. The greateſt part of their " exertions were neceſſarily ſpent on objects which cannot be " deſcribed; and which from their nature can make no figure " in hiſtory. The enormous weight of abuſes they had to over- " turn, the quantity of prejudice with which their functions " called them to contend, as well in their own minds as in thoſe " of all the European world, the open oppoſition of intereſts, " the ſecret weapons of corruption, and the unbridled fury of " deſpairing faction—theſe are ſubjects which eſcape our com- " mon obſervation, when we contemplate the labours of that " Aſſembly. But the legacy they have left to their country in " their deliberative capacity will remain a laſting monument " to their praiſe; and though while ſearching out the defective " parts of their work, without loſing ſight of the difficulties " under which it was formed, we may find more occaſion to " admire its wiſdom, than to murmur at its faults; yet this con- " ſideration ought not to deter us from the attempt.

" The great leading principle, on which their conſtitution " was meant to be founded, is *the equality of rights*. This " principle being laid down with ſuch clearneſs, and aſſerted " with ſo much dignity in the beginning of the code, it is " ſtrange that men of clear underſtandings ſhould fail to be " charmed with the beauty of the ſyſtem which nature muſt " have taught them to build on that foundation. It ſhows a " diſpoſition to counteract the analogy of nature, to ſee them " at one moment impreſſing this indelible principle on our " minds and with the next breath declaring, that France ſhall " remain a monarchy, that it ſhall have a king, hereditary, in- " violable, clothed with all the executive, and much of the le- " giſlative power, commander in chief of all the national force

" by

" by land and ſea, having the initiative of war, and the power " of concluding peace;—and above all, to hear them declare " that, " The nation will provide for the ſplendour of the " throne," granting in their legiſlative capacity to that throne " more than a million ſterling a year, from the national purſe, " beſides the rents of eſtates which are ſaid to amount to half " as much more.

" We muſt be aſtoniſhed at the paradoxical organization of " the minds of men who could ſee no diſcordance in theſe ideas, " they begin with the open ſimplicity of a rational republic, and " immediately plunge into all the labyrinths of royalty; and " a great part of the conſtitutional code is a practical attempt " to reconcile theſe two diſcordant theories. It is a perpetual " conflict between principle and precedent,—between the manly " truths of nature, which we all muſt feel, and the learned ſub- " tilties of ſtateſmen, about which we have been taught to " reaſon.

" In reviewing the hiſtory of human opinions, it is an un- " pleaſant conſideration to remark how ſlow the mind has al- " ways been in ſeizing the moſt intereſting truths; although, " when diſcovered, they appear to have been the moſt obvious. " This remark is no where verified with more circumſtances " of regret, than in the progreſs of your ideas in France relative " to the inutility of the kingly office. It was not enough that " you took your firſt ſtand upon the high ground of natural " right; where, enlightened by the ſun of reaſon, you might " have ſeen the clouds of prejudice roll far beneath your feet, it " was not enough that you began by conſidering royalty, with " its well known ſcourges as being the cauſe of all your evils, " that the kings of modern Europe are the authors of war and " miſery, that their mutual intercourſe is a commerce of human " ſlaughter—that public debts and private oppreſſions, with all " the degrading vices that tarniſh the face of nature, had their " origin in that ſpecies of government which offers a pre- " mium for wickedneſs, and teaches the few to trample on the " many; it was not enough that you ſaw the means of a rege-

" neration of mankind in the ſyſtem of equal rights, and that " in a wealthy and powerful nation you poſſeſſed the advantage of " reducing that ſyſtem to immediate practice as an example to " the world, and a conſolation to human nature. All theſe ar- " guments, with a variety of others, which your republican " orators placed in the ſtrongeſt point of light, were inſufficient " to raiſe the public mind to a proper view of the ſubject.

" It ſeems that ſome of your own philoſophers had previouſly " taught, that royalty was neceſſary to a great nation. Monteſ- " quieu, among his whimſical maxims about laws and govern- " ment, had informed the world that a limited Monarchy was the " beſt poſſible ſyſtem, and that a Democracy could never flouriſh " but in a ſmall tract of country. How many of your legiſlators " believed in this doctrine; how many acted from temporiſing " motives, wiſhing to baniſh royalty by ſlow degrees; and how " many were led by principles leſs pardonable than either, it is " impoſſible to determine. Certain it is, that republican ideas " gained no ground upon the monarchical in your conſtituting " aſſembly, during the laſt ſix months of their deliberations. It " is likewiſe certain, that the majority of that aſſembly took " much pains to prevent the people from diſcovering the cheat " of royalty, and to continue their ancient veneration, at leaſt " for a while, in favour of certain principles in government, " which reaſon could not approve.

" It is remarkable, that all the perfidy of your King, at the " time of his flight, ſhould have had ſo little effect in opening " the eyes of ſo enlightened a people as the French. His flight, " and the inſulting declaration which he left behind him, were " ſufficient not only to give the lie to the fiction, with which " common ſenſe has always been put to the bluſh, and to " which your aſſembly had attempted to give a ſanction, *That* " *Kings can do no wrong*; but they were ſufficient to ſhew, at " leaſt to all who would open their eyes, that the buſineſs of " government required no ſuch officer. There is no period, " during your Revolution, if there is any to be found in the " hiſtory of France, when buſineſs went on with more alacrity

" and

" and good order, than during the ſuſpenſion of the royal func-
" tions, in the interval, from the time that the King was brought
" back to the capital, in June, till the completion of the con-
" ſtitution in September. Every thing went right in the king-
" dom, except within the walls of the aſſembly. A majority
" of that body was determined to make an experiment of a
" limited Monarchy. The experiment has been made. Its
" duration has, indeed, been ſhort, being leſs than eleven
" months; but, although in ſome reſpects it has been almoſt as
" fatal to the cauſe of liberty as any ſyſtem could have been
" within the time, yet, in other reſpects, it has done more good
" than all the reaſonings of all the philoſophers of the age could
" have done in a much longer time: it has taught them a new
" doctrine, which no experience can ſhake, and which reaſon
" muſt confirm, *That Kings can do no good.*"

(Page 14 *and part of* 15.*)*

" Among the *probable* evils reſulting from the kingly office,
" the principal one, and indeed the only one that need to be
" mentioned, is the chance of its being held by *a weak or a*
" *wicked* man. When the office is hereditary, it is ſcarcely to
" be expected but that this ſhould always be the caſe. Conſi-
" dering the birth and education of Princes, the chance of finding
" one with practical common ſenſe, is hardly to be reckoned
" among poſſible events; nor is the probability leſs ſtrong againſt
" their having virtue. The temptations to wickedneſs ariſing
" from their ſituation, are too powerful to be reſiſted. The per-
" ſuaſive arts of all their flatterers, the companions of their
" youth, the miniſters of their pleaſures, and every perſon with
" whom they ever converſe, are neceſſarily employed to induce
" them to increaſe their revenue, by oppreſſing the people, whom
" they are taught from their cradle, to conſider as beaſts of
" burthen: and what muſt almoſt inſure the triumph of wickedneſs
" in their tempers, is, the idea that they act totally and for ever
" without reſtraint. This is an allurement to vice, that even
" men of ſenſe could ſcarcely reſiſt. Impreſs it on the mind of

 " any

" any man, that he *can do no wrong*, and he will ſoon convince
" you of your miſtake.

" Take this general ſummary of the evils ariſing from heredi-
" tary Monarchy, under any reſtrictions that can be propoſed, and
" place it on one ſide of the account, and ſtate, on the other
" ſide, the truth which I believe no man of reflection will here-
" after call in queſtion, *That Kings can do no good*, and the
" friends of liberty will no longer be in doubt which way you
" will decide the queſtion relative to that part of your con-
" ſtitution."

(Page 22 to 26.)

" But it will be ſaid, I am too late, with all theſe obſer-
" vations, on the neceſſity of proſcribing royalty from your
" conſtitution. The cauſe is already judged in the minds of
" the whole people of France; and their wiſhes will ſurely be
" the rule of your conduct. I ſuppoſe that, without being re-
" minded of your duty by a ſtranger, one of your firſt reſolutions
" would be, to fix a national anathema on every veſtige of regal
" power, and endeavour to wipe out from the human character
" the ſtain which it received with its veneration for Kings and
" hereditary claims. But it requires much reflection, to be well
" aware to what extent this duty ſhould carry you. There are
" many vices in your conſtitution, which though not apparently
" connected with the King, had their origin in regal ideas. To
" purify the whole code from theſe vices, and to purge human
" nature from their effects, it will be neceſſary to reſort to
" many principles which appear not to have ſtruck the minds of
" the firſt aſſembly.

" You will permit me to hint at ſome of the great outlines of
" what may be expected from you, under the peculiar advantages
" with which you meet to form a glorious Republic. Although
" many of my ideas may be perfectly ſuperfluous, being the ſame
" as will occur to every member of your body, yet it is poſſible
" that ſome of them may ſtrike the mind in a new point of light,
" and lead to reflections which would not riſe from any other
" quarter. Should this be the caſe in the ſmalleſt degree, it

" ought

" ought to be conſidered, both by you and me, as an ample
" reward for our pains, in writing and in reading this letter.

" On conſidering the ſubject of government, when the mind
" is once ſet looſe from the ſhackles of royalty, it finds itſelf
" in a new world: it riſes to a more extenſive view of every
" circumſtance of the ſocial ſtate. Human nature aſſumes a new
" and more elevated ſhape, and diſplays many moral features,
" which, from having been always diſguiſed, were not known to
" exiſt. In this caſe, it is a long time before we acquire a habit
" of tracing effects to their proper cauſes, and of applying the
" eaſy and ſimple remedy to thoſe vices of our nature which
" ſociety requires us to reſtrain. This, I apprehend, is the
" ſource of by far the greateſt difficulties with which you have to
" contend. We are ſo much uſed, in government, to the moſt
" complicated ſyſtems, as being neceſſary to ſupport thoſe im-
" poſitions, without which it has been ſuppoſed impoſſible for
" men to be governed, that it is an unuſual taſk to conceive of
" the ſimplicity to which the buſineſs of government may be
" reduced, and to which it muſt be reduced, if we would have it
" anſwer the purpoſe of promoting happineſs.

" After proſcribing royalty, with all its appendages, I ſuppoſe
" it will not be thought neceſſary in France to ſupport any other
" errors and ſuperſtitions of a ſimilar complexion; but that un-
" diſguiſed reaſon, in all things, will be preferred to the cloak of
" impoſition. Should this be the caſe, you will conceive it no
" longer neceſſary to maintain a *national church*. This eſta-
" bliſhment is ſo manifeſtly an impoſition upon the judgment of
" mankind, that the conſtituting aſſembly muſt have conſidered
" it in that light. It is one of thoſe monarchical ideas, which
" pay us the wretched compliment of ſuppoſing, that we are not
" capable of being governed by our own reaſon. To ſuppoſe
" that the people of France are to learn the mode of worſhipping
" God from the decrees of the Council of Trent, is certainly as
" abſurd as it would be to appeal to ſuch a Council, to learn how
" to breathe, or to open their eyes. Neither is it true, as is
" argued by the advocates of this part of your conſtitution, that

" the preference there given to one mode of worſhip, by the " payment of the Catholic prieſts from the national purſe, to the " excluſion of others, was founded on the idea of the property " ſuppoſed to have been poſſeſſed by that church, and which, by " the aſſembly, was declared to be thenceforward the property of " the nation.

" The church, in this ſenſe of the word, ſignifies nothing but " *a mode of worſhip*; and to prove that a mode can be a pro- " prietor of lands, requires a ſubtility of logic that I ſhall not " attempt to refute. The fact is, the church, conſidered as an " *hierarchy*, was always neceſſary to the ſupport of royalty; and " your aſſembly, with great conſiſtency of deſign, wiſhing to " preſerve ſomething of the old fabric, preſerved ſomething of " this neceſſary prop. But as the fabric is now overturned, the " prop may be ſafely taken away. I am confident that mo- " narchy and hierarchy will be buried in the ſame grave, and " that in France they will not ſurvive the preſent year."

(Page 31.)

" After laying down the great fundamental principle, *that all* " *men are equal in their rights*, it ought to be the invariable " object of the ſocial compact to inſure the exerciſe of that " equality, by rendering them as equal in all ſorts of enjoyments, " as can poſſibly be conſiſtent with good order, induſtry, and the " reward of merit. Every individual ought to be rendered as " *independent* of every other individual as poſſible; and, at the " ſame time, as *dependent* as poſſible on the whole community.

" On this undeniable maxim, I think the following poſitions " ought to be founded and guaranteed in the conſtitutional " code:

Mr. Lauzun. I found this letter in Mr. Hardy's houſe among his other papers.

It was read,

" To

" To the London Correſponding Society.

" GENTLEMEN,

" I have lately publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe under the title of " A " Letter to the National Convention of France, on the Defects " in the Conſtitution of 1791, and the extent of the Amend- " ments which ought to be applied." Although the obſervations " contained in this letter are more particularly applicable to the " French Nation in the preſent criſis of its government, yet, as " the true principles of ſociety are every where the ſame, their " examination cannot be unſeaſonable in any nation or at any " time. Believing, therefore, that the ſubject of this treatiſe " will not be thought foreign to the great object of your aſſo- " ciation, I preſent a copy of it to you, with the ſame confidence " as I have done to the National Convention, and to the Con- " ſtitutional Society in London; a confidence ariſing from the " full perſuaſion that the work is founded in truth and reaſon.

" I take the liberty at the ſame time to ſend you a copy of an- " other publication, entitled, " Advice to the Privileged Orders." " The preſent diſpoſition in Europe towards a general revolution " in the principle of government, is founded in a current of " opinion too powerful to be reſiſted, as well as too ſacred to " be treated with neglect. It is the duty of every individual to " aſſiſt, not only in removing the obſtructions that are found in " the way of this revolution, but in aſcertaining with as much " preciſion as poſſible the nature of the object to be aimed at, " and the conſequences to be expected from the attainment. It " is above all things to be deſired that the convictions to be ac- " quired from rational diſcuſſion, ſhould precede and preclude " thoſe which muſt reſult from phyſical exertion.

" Such, I believe, is the object of your ſociety, and ſuch is " certainly that of your friend and ſervant,

" JOEL BARLOW."

" *London, Oct.* 6, 1792.

Addreſſed " *To the London Correſponding Society, care of Mr.* " *Thomas Hardy, No.* 9, *Piccadilly.*"

Mr.

Mr. Garrow, to Mr. Johnſon. Who was the author of this pamphlet, which appears to have been publiſhed by you, entitled "Advice to the Privileged Orders."

A. I publiſhed a pamphlet with that title for Mr. Barlow: I believe this is it.

Q. Do you know whether he was the ſole author of it, or were there any other perſons concerned in it?

A. I cannot tell; but I really believe he was the ſole author.

Q. Which you publiſhed in the ſame way, I ſuppoſe, as you did the other—Had it a large ſale?

A. Not a very large ſale; not many more than a thouſand, I believe.

Extracts read from "Advice to the Privileged Orders of the "ſeveral States of Europe, reſulting from the Neceſſity and Pro- "priety of a General Revolution in the Principles of Govern- "ment, Part I. the Third Edition, by Joel Barlow."

(*From Page* 17 *to Page* 20.)

"Mr. Burke, however, in his defence of Royalty, does not "rely on this argument of the compact. Whether it be that he "is conſcious of its futility, or that in his rage he forgets that he "has uſed it, he is perpetually recurring to the laſt ground that "has yet been heard of on which we are called upon to conſider "kings, even as a tolerable nuiſance; and to ſupport the exiſting "forms of government, this ground is the *general good of the* "*community*. It is ſaid to be dangerous to pull down ſyſtems "that are already formed, or even to attempt to improve them; "and it is likewiſe ſaid, that, were they peaceably deſtroyed, and "we had ſociety to build up anew, it would be beſt to create "hereditary kings, hereditary orders, and excluſive privileges.

"Theſe are ſober opinions, uniting a claſs of reaſoners too "numerous and too reſpectable to be treated with contempt. I "believe, however, that their number is every day diminiſhing; "and I believe the example which France will ſoon be obliged

"to

"to exhibit to the world on this ſubject, will induce every man "to reject them who is not perſonally and excluſively intereſted "in their ſupport.

"The inconſiſtency of the conſtituent aſſembly, in retain-"ing an hereditary king, armed with an enormous civil liſt, "to wage war with a popular government, has induced ſome "perſons to predict the downfall of their conſtitution; but this "meaſure had a different origin from what is commonly aſſigned "to it, and will probably have a different iſſue; it was the "reſult rather of local and temporary circumſtances, than of any "general believe in the utility of kings, under any modifications "or limitations that could be attached to the office.

"It is to be obſerved, *firſt*, that the French had a king upon "their hands: this king had always been conſidered as a well-"diſpoſed man; ſo that, by a fatality ſomewhat ſingular, though "not unexampled in *regal hiſtory*, he gained the love of the "people almoſt in proportion to the miſchief which he did them. "*Secondly*, their king had very powerful family connections in "the ſovereigns of Spain, Auſtria, Naples and Sardinia, beſides "his relations within the kingdom, whom it was neceſſary to "attach, if poſſible, to the intereſts of the community. *Thirdly*, "the Revolution was conſidered by all Europe as a high and "dangerous experiment; it was neceſſary to hide, as much as "poſſible, the appearance of its magnitude from the eye of the "diſtant obſerver. The reformers conſidered it as their duty to "produce an internal regeneration of ſociety, rather than an ex-"ternal change in the appearance of the court; to ſet in order "the counting-houſe and the kitchen, before arranging the "drawing-room. This would leave the ſovereigns of Europe "totally without a pretext for interfering, while it would be "conſoling to that claſs of philoſophers who ſtill believed in the "compatibility of royalty and liberty. *Fourthly*, this decree that "*France ſhould have a king*, and that he *could do no wrong*, was "paſſed at an early period of their operations, when the above "reaſons were apparently more urgent than they were afterwards, "or probably will ever be again.

"From

" From theſe conſiderations we may conclude that royalty is " preſerved in France for reaſons which are fugitive; that a ma- " jority of the Conſtituent Aſſembly did not believe in it as " an abſtract principle; that a majority of the people will learn " to be diſguſted with ſo unnatural and ponderous a deformity in " their new edifice, and will ſoon hew it off.

" After this improvement ſhall have been made, a few years " experience in the face of Europe, and on ſo great a theatre as " that of France, will probably leave but one opinion, in the " minds of honeſt men, relative to the republican principle, or the " great ſimplicity of nature, applied to the organization of " ſociety.

(*Page* 21.)

" It depends on a much more important claſs of men, the " claſs that cannot write, and in a great meaſure on thoſe who " cannot read; it is to be decided by men who reaſon better " without books, than we do with all the books in the world: " taking it for granted, therefore, that a general revolution is at " hand, whoſe progreſs is *irreſiſtible*, my object is to contemplate " its probable effects, and to comfort thoſe who are afflicted at the " proſpect."

Mr. Garrow, to Mr. Johnſon. Did you publiſh the former editions of this work?

A. I did.

Q. Perhaps you mean that the ſale of each edition was not more than you mentioned?

A. There were three editions, five hundred each edition, and there were a conſiderable number left.

Q. Was this firſt publiſhed before the death of the late King of the French, or not?

Mr. Johnſon. What is the date in the title-page?

Mr. Garrow. This is the third edition—Do you know whether this was publiſhed before, or after that event?

A. I cannot tell—I think it was publiſhed in 1792, or 1791.

Mr. Garrow, to Mr. Johnſon. Be ſo good as look at that pamphlet: it is called " A letter to the Addreſſers, by Thomas " Paine."

"Paine." Do you know whether any pamphlet of that ſort was publiſhed by Thomas Paine.

A. Certainly there was.

Q. Do you believe this to be one of the copies that were ſo publiſhed?

A. I believe it is.

Q. I do not know whether you know any thing of the cheap edition or not—Do you know how ſoon the cheap edition came out after the firſt edition.

A. No.

Q. Have you ſeen any of the cheap edition?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether that was publiſhed about the ſame time?

A. It was publiſhed after the large edition—I do not know how long.

Q. Look at that copy of the cheap edition, and ſay whether you believe that to be one of the copies that was publiſhed?

A. I cannot ſay, becauſe any printer may copy this.

Mr. Erſkine. Do you mean to ſwear that the large edition is—that either is.

A. No. I only believe it from the appearance of it—any printer may copy it.

Mr. Garrow. You have already ſaid, that you believe that to be one of the copies of the large edition which was publiſhed by Mr. Paine.

A. It has all the appearance of it—any printer may take a fac ſimile copy of it.

Q. Upon looking at it, do you believe it to be one, or have you any doubt on the ſubject.

A. I cannot poſitively ſay---a printer may print a fac ſimile of it.

Q. Do you believe that to have been printed by a printer making a fac ſimile without authority, or to be one of the original edition? I aſk you upon your oath.

A. I cannot ſay, becauſe a printer can make a fac ſimile.

Lord

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Unleſs he can ſpeak from the type, or the intrinſic circumſtances, it is nothing.

A. I really cannot ſo ſpeak.

Mr. Garrow. Who does that appear in the title-page to be printed by?

A. Symonds.

Q. Is there any other perſon named as the publiſher?

A. And Clio Rickman.

Q. Had you communications with the author upon the ſubject of an edition of the Addreſs to the Addreſſers?

A. I beg leave to addreſs the Court.——My Lord, this publication has been deemed a libel ——

Mr. Garrow. I am not aſking the witneſs whether he publiſhed or ſold any of them, or whether he lent any one, but whether he had any communication with the author upon the ſubject.

A. The author printed it, to the beſt of my knowledge, when I was in the country---I was at Margate, I believe, at the time when he printed this pamphlet.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Hitherto I do not obſerve, that you have laid a ground for aſking any queſtion about this book.

Mr. Attorney-General. We will poſtpone the examination of Mr. Johnſon at preſent.

Mr. Garrow. We will now read the reſt of the minute of the Conſtitutional Society of the 12th of October, which your Lordſhip recollects we poſtponed in order to read Mr. Barlow's book.

(It was read.)

" Ordered,

" That the Secretary be directed to tranſmit a copy of the " Argus of to-morrow to each of the members of this ſociety.

" Read,

" The following Letter, and incloſed Addreſs to the National " Convention of France, from the London Correſponding " Society.

" To

" To D. Adams, Secretary to the Society for Conſtitutional " Information.

" SIR,

" Your favor of the third inſtant, informing us, that our " propoſal for addreſſing the French National Convention, had " met with the approbation of the Society for Conſtitutional " Information, we have encloſed you a copy of the addreſs we " have drawn up, and mean to ſend, the ſociety at large having " approved of it.

" Not in the leaſt preſuming to propoſe it for the adoption of " your ſociety, ourſelves will joyfully throw it aſide, and as " readily ſubſcribe to any production of your's, better calculated " to anſwer the purpoſe, and leſs unworthy being preſented to " ſo auguſt an Aſſembly.

" Should no other be produced, we imagine this plain, but " honeſt addreſs, will be adopted by ſome other ſocieties, in " concurrence with our own; and reſpecting the manner of " ſigning, of conveying, and of preſenting it, your better ex- " perienced advice will greatly oblige,

" Gentlemen,

" Your very humble Servants,

" For the Committee of the London Correſponding Society,

(Signed)

" *MAURICE MARGAROT*, *Chairman.*

" *THOMAS HARDY*, *Secretary.*"

" *Thurſday*, 11*th October*, 1792."

" FRENCHMEN.

" While foreign robbers are ravaging your territories, under " the ſpecious pretext of Juſtice; Cruelty and Deſolation leading " on their van, Perfidy with Treachery bringing up their rear, " yet Mercy and Friendſhip impudently held forth to the world " as the ſole motives of their incurſions, the oppreſſed part of " mankind forgetting, for a while, their own ſufferings, feel only " for yours, and with an anxious eye watch the event, fervently " ſupplicating the Almighty Ruler of the Univerſe to be favour- " able to your cauſe, ſo intimately blended with their own.

" Frowned upon by an oppreſſive ſyſtem of controul, whoſe " gradual, but continued encroachments, have deprived this " nation of nearly all its boaſted Liberty, and brought us almoſt " to that abject ſtate of Slavery, from which you have ſo " emerged, 5,000 Britiſh Citizens, indignant, manfully ſtep " forth to reſcue their country from the opprobrium brought " upon it, by the ſupine conduct of thoſe in power. They " conceive it to be the duty of Britons to countenance and aſſiſt, " to the utmoſt of their power, the Champions of Human Hap- " pineſs, and to ſwear to a nation, proceeding on the plan you " have adopted, an inviolable Friendſhip. Sacred from this " day be that Friendſhip between us! And may Vengeance to " the uttermoſt, overtake the man who hereafter ſhall attempt " to cauſe a rupture.

" Though we appear ſo few at preſent, be aſſured, French- " men, that our number encreaſes daily; it is true, that the " ſtern uplifted arm of authority at preſent keeps back the " timid, that buſily circulated impoſtors hourly miſlead the " credulous, and that Court intimacy, with avowed French " Traitors, has ſome effect on the unwary, and on the ambitious. " But, with certainty, we can inform you, Friends and Freemen, " that information makes a rapid progreſs among us. Curioſity " has taken poſſeſſion of the public mind; the conjoint reign " of Ignorance and Deſpotiſm paſſes away. Men now aſk each " other, what is Freedom? What are our Rights? French- " men, you are already free, and Britons are preparing to " become ſo!

" Caſting far from us the criminal prejudices artfully in- " culcated by evil-minded men, and wily Courtiers, we, inſtead of " natural enemies, at length diſcover in Frenchmen, our fellow " Citizens of the world, and our brethren by the ſame Heavenly " Father, who created us for the purpoſe of loving and mutually " aſſiſting each other; but not to hate, and to be ever ready to " cut each others throats, at the command of weak or ambitious " Kings, and corrupt Miniſters.

" Seeking our real enemies, we find them in our boſoms; we " feel ourſelves inwardly torn by, and ever the victims of a

" reſtleſs,

" reſtleſs, all-conſuming ariſtocracy, hitherto the bane of every " nation under the ſun! Wiſely have you acted in expelling it " from France.

" Warm as are our wiſhes for your ſucceſs, eager as we are " to behold Freedom triumphant, and man every where reſtored " to the enjoyment of his juſt rights, a ſenſe of our duty, as " orderly Citizens, forbids our flying in arms to your aſſiſtance; " our Government has pledged the national faith to remain " neutral:—in a ſtruggle of Liberty againſt Deſpotiſm, Britons " remain neutral! O ſhame! But we have entruſted our King " with diſcretionary powers;—we, therefore, muſt obey;—our " hands are bound, but our hearts are free, and they are with " you.

" Let German Deſpots act as they pleaſe. We ſhall rejoice " at their fall, compaſſionating however their enſlaved ſubjects. " We hope this tyranny of their maſters will prove the means of " reinſtating, in the full enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties, " millions of our fellow creatures.

" With unconcern, therefore, we view the Elector of Hanover " join his troops to traitors and robbers; but the King of " Great Britain will do well to remember, that this country " is not Hanover.—Should he forget this diſtinction, we will " not.

" While you enjoy the envied glory of being the unaided " defenders of Freedom, we fondly anticipate, in idea, the nu- " merous bleſſings mankind will enjoy, if you ſucceed, as we " ardently wiſh, the Triple Alliance (not of Crowns, but) of the " people of America, France, and Britain, will give Freedom to " Europe, and peace to the whole world. Dear Friends, you " combat for the advantage of the human race. How well pur- " chaſed will be, though at the expence of much blood, the " glorious, the unprecedented privilege of ſaying, mankind is " free! Tyrants and tyranny are no more! Peace reigns on " the earth! And this is the work of Frenchmen."

" Reſolved,

" That the thanks of this ſociety be given to the London " Correſponding Society, for the above addreſs tranſmitted by

" them; and that the ſecretary acquaint them, this ſociety do
" highly approve of the ſpirit of the ſame."

The following entries were read from the books of the Society for Conſtitutional Information.

" At a Meeting of the Society held at the Crown and
" Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, October 19, 1792.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. I. H. Tooke in the chair.

" Mr. Sturch, Mr. Hull, Mr. Froſt, Mr. Williams, Mr. Merry,
" Dr. Edwards, Mr. Pearſon, Mr. Anſell, Mr. Sharpe, Mr.
" Brookbank, Mr. Walſh, Mr. Banks, Mr. Bonney, Mr.
" Peacock, Mr. Walford, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Joyce, Mr.
" Holcroft, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Richter, Lord Edward
" Fitzgerald, Mr. Sinclair.

" Mr. Sturch produced and read to the ſociety the following
" anſwer, he was directed to prepare to Mr. Joel Barlow,
" which was approved of and publiſhed together with Mr. Bar-
" low's letter to this ſociety in the papers.

" SIR,

" Your manly and energetic addreſs to the National Conven-
" tion of France, having been received by the ſociety for Con-
" ſtitutional Information, and read at their laſt Meeting, they
" cannot heſitate to return you their unanimous thanks for ſo
" valuable a preſent, and to expreſs in the warmeſt terms their
" hearty approbation of its ſpirit and tendency; your little treatiſe,
" by exhibiting the moſt important political truths in a new and
" ſtriking point of view, is, in their opinion, happily calculated
" to inform the inquiring mind, and to inſpire an ardent and en-
" lightened zeal for the freedom and happineſs of mankind. In
" this opinion, they doubt not, the public voice will concur,
" when the pamphlet ſhall have obtained that general circulation
" to which its merits intitle it.

" R

" It is with reaſon that you think the ſubject of your book " not foreign to the great object of the ſociety, which has inva- " riably been to lead their countrymen to think for themſelves on " the momentous ſubject of government, and thus to produce an " univerſal and practical conviction of one great truth, that with- " out a real repreſention of the people, frequently renewed, there " can be no effectual check to that ſyſtem of corruption, by " which the public treaſure is ſquandered; no ſecurity for that " portion of liberty which we ſhall enjoy, nor any rational hope " that government will be conducted with a view to its only pro- " per object, the happineſs of the many, and not the intereſt of " the few.

" The ſociety obſerve, with heart-felt ſatisfaction, that in the " preſent great criſis of human affairs while ſome writers are " found even in this country, who openly proclaim what they " call the 'Cauſe of Kings' in oppoſition to the cauſe of the " people, whom they impudently term the 'Swiniſh Multitude;' " there are not wanting on the other hand, men of the firſt cha- " racter and ability who nobly vindicate the Rights of Man, and " they truſt, that your excellent writings in general, and the " letter to the Convention of France in particular, will be emi- " nently conducive to the ſucceſs and final triumph of that cauſe, " which you juſtly ſtyle 'the moſt glorious that ever engaged " the attention of mankind.'

" *Joel Barlow, Eſq.*"

" Read the following letter from the London Correſponding " Society.

" *London, October* 18, 1792.

" SIR,

" The London Correſponding Society learn, with pleaſure, " that the Society for Conſtitutional Information approve the " ſpirit of our addreſs; but to come back to the point, we ima- " gine that as you had previouſly approved the meaſure, and as " you now like the ſpirit of the addreſs, we may with propriety, " aſk you, whether you will concur with us in ſending that ad- " dreſs, or whether you will draw up another letter ſuited to the

 " preſent

" preſent circumſtances; and permit us to join you in tranſmit-
" ting it to the French National Convention.

" I am, Sir,

" For the Committee of the Delegates of the
" London Correſponding Society,
" Your very humble Servant,
" MAURICE MARGAROT, CHAIRMAN.
" *D. Adams, Secretary to the Society for Conſtitutional Information.*"

" Reſolved,

" That the Committee be appointed to confer with the Dele-
" gates of the London Correſponding Society, on an addreſs to
" the National Convention of France."

" At a Meeting of the Society held Friday, October 26,
" 1792, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand.

" Mr. John Froſt in the Chair,

" Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Peacock, Mr. Moore, Mr. Hull, Mr.
" Walford, Dr. Edwards, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Banks, Mr.
" Balmanno, Dr. Maxwell, Mr. J. Martin, Mr. Sinclair,
" Mr. Sturch, Mr. Joyce, Colonel Keating, Mr. Pearſon,
" Mr. Bonney, Mr. I. Williams, Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr.
" Brookbank, Mr. Dodſon, Mr. Sutton, Mr. Bailey, Mr.
" Morgan, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Satchell, Mr. J. Adams, Mr.
" Richter, Mr. Geddes.

" The Secretary read the report of the Committee appointed
" at the laſt Meeting,

" Reſolved,

" That the report of the Committee be re-committed.

" Ordered,

" That the Secretary do procure correct copies of the mani-
" feſto, publiſhed by the late General Burgoyne while in Ame-
" rica; of the firſt manifeſto lately publiſhed by the Duke of
" Brunſwick in France; of the laſt Royal proclamation againſt
" writings and meetings in England; and of the Emperors re-

" cent

" cent proclamation at Bruſſels on the ſame ſubject. In order " that theſe four pieces may be printed fairly together on one " ſheet of paper, and be tranſmitted by this ſociety to all the " aſſociated ſocieties in Great-Britain.

" Reſolved, That the above order be publiſhed in the newſ- " papers.

" Reſolved, That at the next meeting of this ſociety, they " do conſider of an anſwer to the London Correſponding So- " ciety on the ſubject of their letter, accompanying their addreſs " to the National Convention of France.

" Reſolved, That at the ſaid meeting, the ſociety do attend " to the example of the London Correſponding Society, and " conſider of an addreſs to the National Convention of France."

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, No- " vember 2, 1792.

" PRESENT

" Mr. Froſt in the Chair,

" Mr. Tooke, Mr. Boſville, Mr. Walſh, Dr. Edwards, Mr. " Bonney, Mr. I. Martin, Mr. Sturch, Mr. Sharp, Mr. " Geddes, Colonel Keating, Mr. Rae, Mr. Bakewell, Mr. " Joyce, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Johnſon, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Hol- " croft, Mr. Williams, Mr. Hind, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. M. " Buſh, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Aſpinal, Mr. Fitzgerald.

" Reſolved, " That a Committee of Correſpondence be ap- " pointed, to conſider of, and prepare anſwers to all ſuch letters " as are, or may be, ſent to this ſociety.

" Ordered, That the anſwer to the letter of the London " Correſponding Society, accompanying their addreſs to the " National Convention of France, be referred to the ſaid Com- " mittee.

" Reſolved, That a Committee be appointed to conſider of " an addreſs to the National Convention of France.

" Reſolved,

" Reſolved, That Meſſrs. Barlow, Sinclair and Tuffin, do " compoſe the ſaid Committee; and that the ſaid Committee be " requeſted to make their report on Friday next."

" At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " held at the Crown and Anchor, Strand, Friday 9th Novem- " ber, 1792.

" PRESENT,

" Lord Sempill in the Chair.

" Mr. Boſville, Mr. Rae, Mr. Hull, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Jen- " nings, Mr. Sutton, Mr. Froſt, Mr. Tooke, Mr. Sturch, Col. " Keating, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. Sin- " clair, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Watts, Mr. Richter, Mr. Little- " john, Captain Perry, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Banks, Mr. " Williams, Mr. Geddes, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Parkinſon, " Mr. Gerald, Mr. Rickman, Mr. Buſh, jun. Mr. Lockhart, " Mr. Moore.

" The committee appointed at the laſt meeting to prepare an " addreſs from this ſociety to the National Convention of France, " made their report, and produced the following addreſs, which " was read and approved.

" The Society for Conſtitutional Information in London, to the " National Convention of France.

" Servants of a Sovereign People, and Benefactors of Man- " kind,

" We rejoice that your revolution has arrived at that point of " perfection which will permit us to addreſs you by this title; it " is the only one that can accord with the character of true legiſ- " lators. Every ſucceſſive epoch in your affairs, has added " ſomething to the triumphs of liberty; and the glorious victory " of the 10th of Auguſt, has finally prepared the way for a con- " ſtitution, which we truſt you will eſtabliſh on the baſis of rea- " ſon and nature.

" Conſidering the maſs of deluſion accumulated on mankind, " to obſcure their underſtandings, you cannot be aſtoniſhed at

" the

" the oppoſition you have met both from tyrants and from ſlaves.
" —The inſtrument uſed againſt you by each of theſe claſſes, is
" the ſame; for in the genealogy of human miſeries, ignorance is
" at once the parent of oppreſſion, and the child of ſubmiſſion.

" The events of every day are proving, that your cauſe is
" cheriſhed by the people in all your continental vicinity; that a
" majority of each of thoſe nations are your real friends, whoſe
" governments have tutored them into apparent foes, and that
" they only wait to be delivered by your arms from the dreaded
" neceſſity of fighting againſt them.

" The condition of Engliſhmen is leſs to be deplored—here
" the hand of oppreſſion has not yet ventured completely to raviſh
" the pen from us, nor openly to point the ſword at you. From
" boſoms burning with ardour in your cauſe, we tender you our
" warmeſt wiſhes for the full extent of its progreſs and ſucceſs.
" It is indeed a ſacred cauſe; we cheriſh it as the pledge of your
" happineſs, our natural and neareſt friends; and we rely upon it
" as the bond of fraternal union to the human race, in which union
" our own nation will ſurely be one of the firſt to concur.

" Our government has ſtill the power, and perhaps the incli-
" nation, to employ hirelings to contradict us; but it is our
" real opinion, that we now ſpeak the ſentiments of a great ma-
" jority of the Engliſh nation.—The people here are wearied
" with impoſture, and worn out with war; they have learned to
" reflect, that both the one and the other are the offſpring of un-
" natural combinations in ſociety as relative to ſyſtems of go-
" vernment, not the reſult of the natural temper of nations, as re-
" lative to each others happineſs.

" Go on, legiſlators, in the work of human happineſs—the
" benefits will in part be ours, but the glory ſhall be all your
" own. It is the reward of your perſeverance, it is the prize of
" virtue. The ſparks of liberty preſerved in England for ages,
" like the coruſcations of the northern Aurora, ſerved but to ſhew
" the darkneſs viſible in the reſt of Europe. The luſtre of the
" American republic, like an effulgent morning, aroſe with in-
" creaſing vigour, but ſtill too diſtant to enlighten our hemiſ-
" phere, till the ſplendour of the French revolution burſt forth

" upon

" upon the nations, in the full fervour of a meridian ſun, and diſ-
" played in the midſt of the European world, the practical reſult
" of principles which philoſophy had ſought in the ſhade of ſpe-
" culation, and which experience muſt every where confirm. It
" diſpels the clouds of prejudice from all people, reveals the ſe-
" crets of all deſpotiſm, and creates a new character in man.

" In this career of improvement, your example will be ſoon
" followed; for nations, riſing from their lethargy, will reclaim
" the rights of man with a voice which man cannot reſiſt.

" (Signed by Order of the Society)

" *SEMPILL, Chairman.*

" *D. ADAMS, Secretary.*

" Reſolved, That the thanks of this ſociety be given to the
" committee who prepared the above addreſs.

" Reſolved, That Mr. Barlow and Mr. Froſt be deputed by
" this ſociety to preſent the addreſs of this ſociety at the bar of the
" National Convention of France.

" Reſolved, That the thanks of this ſociety be given to Mr.
" Barlow and Mr. Froſt for accepting the above deputation.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid addreſs be ſigned by the chairman
" and ſecretary.

" Reſolved, that a ſubſcription be opened in this ſociety, for
" the purpoſe of aſſiſting the efforts of France in the cauſe of
" freedom.

" Reſolved, That the above reſolution be publiſhed in the
" morning and evening papers.

" Reſolved, That an anſwer be returned by the ſecretary, to
" the London Correſponding Society's letter, accompanied by a
" few copies of Mr. Paine's Letters to the French People."

" At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 16th
" November, 1792.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Boſville in the Chair.

" Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Hull, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Pearſon, Mr.
" Froſt, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Moore, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Ge-
" rald,

« rald, Dr. Edwards, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Barlow, Mr-
« Banks, Mr. Sturch, Mr. Tooke, Mr. Buſh, jun. Mr.
« Aſpinal, Mr. Rae, Dr. Smith, Col. Keating, Mr. Chatfield,
« Mr. Martin, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Phillips,
« Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Parkinſon, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Grant, Mr.
« Tuffin, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Milner, Mr. Watts,
« Mr. Bailey, Capt. Perry, Mr. Walford, Mr. Sutton.

« Read a letter from Mr. Phillips, of Leiceſter, requeſting that « the particulars of this ſociety might be ſent him for the purpoſe « of eſtabliſhing a Conſtitutional Society in that town.

« Ordered, That the ſecretary ſend to Mr. Phillips ſuch of the « publications of this ſociety, as he may think neceſſary for the « purpoſe mentioned in Mr. Phillips's letter.

« At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, « held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 7th « December, 1792.

« PRESENT,

« Mr. Bryant in the Chair.

« Mr. John Martin, Col. Keating, Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney,
« Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Satchell, Mr. Walſh, Mr. Delacour, Mr.
« G. Maltby, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. G. Williams, Mr.
« Sturch, Mr. Richter, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Chatfield, Mr.
« Holcroft, Mr. I. Williams, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Campbell,
« Mr. Watts, Mr. Cooper (Jefferys-Sq.) Rev. Dr. Towers,
« Mr. Balmanno, Dr. Smith, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Rae, Mr.
« Hardy, Mr. Joyce, Mr. White, Lord Sempill, Mr. Lock-
« hart.

« Read a letter from Mr. Barlow and Mr. Froſt, with the « addreſs to the National Convention of France, and the anſwer « of the preſident.

« Ordered, That the ſame be taken into conſideration at ſome « future meeting."

Mr. Thomas Maclean. I found theſe papers in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Adams.

Mr.

Mr. Garrow. This is the letter referred to in the minute laſt read.

It was read.

" Citizens and Aſſociates,

" We have executed your commiſſion to the National Con-
" vention of France, in a manner which we hope will meet your
" approbation. A tranſlation of the papers herewith incloſed,
" was yeſterday preſented at the bar of the Convention, and re-
" ceived with univerſal applauſe. After which, the preſident
" gave us the kiſs of fraternity in behalf of the French nation,
" which we returned in behalf of our ſociety. The ſcene was
" truly intereſting to every feeling of humanity, and drew tears
" from a crouded aſſembly. It gave riſe to reflections which
" can ſcarcely be conceived by men in any other circumſtance of
" life; it was the reconciliation of brothers, who had long been
" excited to a mortal enmity by miſunderſtanding and mutual
" impoſition. The wounds which had bled for ages were cloſed
" and forgot, while the voice of nature declared they ſhould never
" more be opened. The preſident pronounced a diſcourſe in an-
" ſwer to our addreſs, which we likewiſe encloſe.

" *Paris, 29th Nov.* 1792. " *JOEL BARLOW.*
" *JOHN FROST.*

" *To the Society for Conſti-*
" *tutional Information in*
" *London.*"

" *At the Bar of the Convention, November* 28.

" Citizens of France,

" We are deputed from the *Society for Conſtitutional Informa-*
" *tion in London*, to preſent to you their congratulations on the
" triumphs of liberty. This ſociety had laboured long in the
" cauſe, with little proſpect of ſucceſs, previous to the com-
" mencement of your revolution. Conceive then their exultations
" of gratitude, when by the aſtoniſhing efforts of your nation,
" they behold the reign of reaſon acquiring an extention and ſo-

" lidity,

" lidity, which promiſe to reward the labours of all good men,
" by ſecuring the happineſs of their fellow creatures.

" Innumerable ſocieties of a ſimilar nature are now forming
" in every part of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They excite
" a ſpirit of univerſal enquiry into the complicated abuſes of go-
" vernment, and the ſimple means of reform.

" After the example which France has given, the ſcience of
" revolutions will be rendered eaſy, and the progreſs of reaſon
" will be rapid. It would not be ſtrange, if, in a period far
" ſhort of what we ſhould venture to predict, addreſſes of fe-
" licitation ſhould croſs the ſeas to a *National Convention in*
" *England.*"

(Here follows the Addreſs.)

" We are alſo commiſſioned to inform the Convention, that
" the ſociety which we repreſent has ſent to the ſoldiers of liberty
" a patriotic donation of one thouſand pair of ſhoes, which are
" by this time arrived at Calais; and the ſociety will continue
" ſending a thouſand pair a week for at leaſt ſix weeks to come.
" We only wiſh to know to whoſe care they ought to be ad-
" dreſſed.

" *Paris, Nov. 28th*, 1792. " *JOEL BARLOW.*
" *JOHN FROST.*"

" The Preſident's Anſwer.

" Brave children of a nation which has given luſtre to the two
" worlds, and great examples to the univerſe; you have ad-
" dreſſed us with ſomething more than good wiſhes, ſince the
" condition of our warriors has excited your ſolicitude. The
" defenders of our liberty will one day be the ſupporters of your
" own. You command our eſteem, you will accept our grati-
" tude. The ſons of liberty through the world will never forget
" their obligations to the Engliſh nation.

" The ſhades of Pym, of Hamden, and of Sidney, are hover-
" ing over your heads; and the moment cannot be diſtant, when
" the people of France will offer their congratulations to a Na-
" tional Convention in England. Too long has the torch of

" diſcord enflamed the Engliſh and the French; while the am-
" bition of kings, fomenting national averſions, compelled them
" to forget, that nature has produced none but brothers.

" Your iſlands, it is ſaid, were ſevered from the continent by
" a great convulſion of the globe; but liberty, eſtabliſhed on the
" two ſhores of the narrow ſea which divides us, will repair the
" breach, and reſtore the two nations to the harmony and friend-
" ſhip for which nature has deſigned them. Reaſon has be-
" gun her majeſtic march; ſhe can no longer be reſiſted in her
" courſe.

" Generous republicans, your appearance in this place will
" form an epoch in the hiſtory of mankind. Hiſtory will con-
" ſecrate the day, when, from a nation long regarded as a rival,
" and in the name of a great number of your fellow citizens,
" you appeared in the midſt of the repreſentatives of the people of
" France, and ſhe will not forget to recount, that our hearts ex-
" panded at the ſight. Tell the ſociety which deputed you, and
" aſſure your fellow citizens in general, that in your friends, the
" French, you have found men."

The following Entries were read from the Books of the Society for Conſtitutional Information.

" At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor-Tavern, Strand, Friday,
" December 14, 1792.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, in the chair.

" Mr. Chriſtopher Hull, ſome part of the time in the chair.
" Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr. Bonney, Mr. J. Martin, Mr. Bal-
" manno, jun. Mr. G. Maltby, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Chatfield,
" Lord Sempill, Mr. Moore, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Tuffin,
" Mr. Hardy, Mr. Reader, Mr. Satchell, Mr. Banks, Mr.
" Sturch, Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Rutt, Mr. B. Cooper, Mr.
" Chalk, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Rae, Mr. Fitzgerald, Colonel
" Keating, Mr. G. Watts, Mr. Williams, Mr. Campbell,
" Mr. Jennings, Mr. Sinclair.

" Read a printed addreſs from Mancheſter.

" Reſolved,

" Reſolved, That the ſaid addreſs be approved for publiſhing " in the newſpapers.

" A motion was made and ſeconded, that the 20th law of this " ſociety be ſuſpended on this occaſion, which motion was car- " ried in the affirmative.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid addreſs be printed in the newſpapers.

" Reſolved, That one hundred thouſand copies of the ſame be " printed by this ſociety, and diſtributed to their correſpondents " in Great-Britain and Ireland.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid reſolutions be ſigned by the chair- " man and ſecretary.

" Read a letter from the Society of Friends of Liberty and " Equality, ſitting at Laôn, capital of the department D'l'Aiſne, " to the patriotic ſociety of London, named the Society for " Conſtitutional Information.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid letter be referred to the committee " of correſpondence."

Mr. Maclean. I found theſe three papers in the houſe of Mr. Adams.

William Huſkiſſon, Eſq. (ſworn); *Examined by Mr. Garrow.*

Q. You reſided, I believe, for a conſiderable time in France?

A. I did.

Q. You are well acquainted with the French language?

A. I am.

Mr. Huſkiſſon delivered into Court Engliſh tranſlations of the three letters produced by Maclean.

They were read.

" Apt, *the 17th December,*

" *Firſt Year of the French Republic.*

" *The Popular and Republican Society of* Apt, *Department of the* " *Mouths of the* Rhone, *to the Popular Society, ſitting at* " London.

" *LIVE FREE, or DIE!*

" CITIZENS, BRETHREN, and FRIENDS,

" When two great nations, acquainted with their rights, ap- " proximated by their commercial connections and their natural " ſituation, formed to love and to act in concert with each other,

" begin

" begin to frame the glorious project of uniting themſelves for the " regeneration of the human race, one may then ſay with reaſon, " that Kings are ripe and ready to fall.

" How glorious will it be for France and England to have " formed alone a confederacy deſtructive of tyrants, and to have " purchaſed, at the price of their blood, the Liberty of Europe— " we may ſay more, of the whole Univerſe.

" Courage, Brethren and Friends. It is for you to follow " us in the glorious and hazardous career of the Revolution of " the World. Can ye, any longer, groan under the yoke of a " government, that has nothing of liberty but the name? For, " although your land was inhabited before others by freemen, " can ye, without illuſion, conſider your government as ſuch?

" Will ye content yourſelves with a partial freedom? Will " the Engliſh be ſatisfied with principles? Will that bold nation, " that has produced philoſophers the moſt profound, and that " firſt of all perceived the ſparkling rays of reaſon, remain a " ſpectatrix in ſo noble a cauſe.

" No, Brethren and Friends, no! you will ſoon lift your- " ſelves up againſt that perfidious Court of St. James's, whoſe " infernal policy, like to that which found its tomb in the Thuil- " leries, has made ſo many victims in our two nations, and does " diſunite them perpetually, to rule over them.

" Your love for liberty, has fixed your attention upon the " wants of our defenders; your generoſity toward them is a " title to the acknowledgements of the Republic. We are im- " patient to furniſh you the ſame advantages. The popular " ſocieties of France deſire ardently the epoch that ſhall permit " them to addreſs their vows to the National Aſſembly of Great- " Britain, and to offer to the ſoldiers of the liberty of your " nation, arms, bayonets, and pikes.

" The members compoſing the committee of correſpondence.

" AUSELME	" RASPAUD,
" AUBOR,	" SEBRET,
" ABUISE,	" PERRIN AGLEAN."
" VULIJ,	

" *To the Citizens compoſing the Conſtitutional*
" *Society, ſitting at London.*"

TH-

" *The Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality, ſitting at*
" Laôn, *the head of the department of the* Aiſne, *to the pa-*
" *triotic ſociety of* London, *called the Society for Conſtitutional*
" *Information.*

" GENEROUS REPUBLICANS,

" The philanthropic gift that you have preſented to the war-
" riors of France, announces, with energy, the great intereſt
" that you take in the ſacred cauſe which they are defending.

" Accept the thanks of a ſociety that does honour to itſelf in
" eſteeming you.

" The time, perhaps, is not far diſtant, when the ſoldiers of
" our liberty ſhall be able to teſtify their gratitude to you.
" Then their arms, their blood itſelf, ſhall be at the ſervice of
" all your fellow-citizens, who, like you, acknowledge no rights
" but the Rights of Man. Then France and England ſhall
" form together a treaty of union as laſting as the courſe of the
" Seine and the Thames. Then there, as here, there ſhall exiſt
" no other reign but that of Liberty, Equality, and Friendſhip.
" May this day of felicity and glory ſoon ſhine upon the horizon
" of two nations, formed to admire each other.

" *2d December*, 1792. *Firſt Year of the French Republic.*

" The members compoſing the committee of correſpondence.

" HAMAIDES, BAWDRY, DEMONCIAUX."

The Envelope is directed " *To the patriotic ſociety of*
" *London, called the Society for Conſtitutional*
" *Information, at London, England.*"

" *Firſt Year of the French Republic, 6th December*, 1792.

" *The Society of the Friends of Liberty and Equality, eſtabliſhed*
" *at* Macon, *department of the* Saone *and* Loire, *to the Con-*
" *ſtitutional Society of* London.

" Yes, Citizens, our Brethren and Friends, the 10th of
" Auguſt, 1792, ſhall be diſtinguiſhed in the annals of the
" world as the day of the triumph of Liberty.

" Our firſt Revolution did but ſhew to us the ſalutary prin-
" ciples of the impreſcriptible Rights of Man: All, except the
" unprincipled and the enemies of humanity, adopted them with
" enthuſiaſm. It was then that we formed ourſelves into a
" ſociety, in order the better to impreſs them upon ourſelves,
" and afterwards to teach them to our fellow-citizens.

" Our firſt conſtitution had conſecrated them, but had not
" always taken them for its baſe. The dominion of the paſſions,
" the force of habit, the impreſſion of prejudices, and the power
" of the intrigues employed in our conſtituent aſſembly, found
" the ſecret to preſerve ſufficient authority to our tyrants, to
" extinguiſh, at ſome time, the ſacred rights of nature, and to
" re-eſtabliſh deſpotiſm on its throne of iron.

" But Royalty, thus preſerved, was not content with the
" victory that had ſecured to it the greateſt number of the
" corrupt perſons who ſurrounded it. It was impatient to reap
" the fruits that it appeared to promiſe itſelf. But its too great
" eagerneſs has haſtened its ruin, and ſecured the triumph of
" reaſon.

" The French, proud of their new exiſtence, ſoon perceived
" the fault of their firſt legiſlators, became ſenſible of the imper-
" fection of its firſt laws—ſaw that they made a ſurrender of the
" rights of liberty and equality which they had embraced, they
" rouſed themſelves anew to demand, at length, laws impartial
" and humane.

" From thence the neceſſary day of the tenth of Auguſt 1792.
" From thence a ſecond Revolution, but a Revolution which is
" only the completion of the firſt, which has received our vows
" and our oaths, and which we will bleſs for ever, if it leads us,
" as we hope it will, to the happineſs of the nation, to the con-
" ſtant maintenance of liberty and equality.

" Let intriguers, tools, and tyrants calumniate us; we deſpiſe
" them too much to condeſcend to anſwer them, and ſeek for
" their eſteem.

" That which flatters us, is, the intereſt that you take in
" our labours, your attention to contribute to the ſucceſs of

" our arms; we deſire your eſteem, we are proud of your
" approbation.

" We ſmile at the expreſſion of the ſentiments that you mani-
" feſted to our repreſentatives: we behold a nation of brethren
" rouſe itſelf to ſupport the cauſe of humanity: we behold the
" brave Engliſh adopt our principles, become our friends; we
" ſay to ourſelves with pleaſure, ſoon will they become our allies,
" and, uniting our efforts, we ſhall go on to deliver the Univerſe
" from the yoke of tyrants—to reſtore the nations to reaſon and
" nature.

" That day is not far diſtant, if we may rely on our own
" courage, and the hope of your alliance.

" In the mean time receive our thanks, and correſpond with
" brethren who ſet a high value upon your eſteem.

(Signed) " *LAVENIE, the younger, Preſident.*
" *J. B. REPEY, Secretary to the Society.*
" *DESSAU, Secretary.*"

(In Engliſh in the original.)

" *To the Preſident of the Society called the Society for Con-*
" *ſtitutional Information,* (by way of Calais) *London.*"

Thomas Wood (ſworn)
Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. Do you know Mr. Froſt's hand-writing?

A. Yes; I have ſeen him write very often.

Q. Look at that paper, and tell me whether you believe it to be Mr. Froſt's hand-writing?

A. Yes—I have no doubt about its being his hand-writing.

" MY DEAR SIR, " *Paris, Sept. 20th,* 1792.

" We arrived ſafe at this place yeſterday to dinner; and, hav-
" ing met with no interruption on our journey, by night or by
" day, ſince we left Dover, except delay at Abbeville, Amicus,
" Clermont, and for want of horſes, which the emigrants have
" wore out. Paris is now quiet, though it was illuminated, and
" the guards under arms from an apprehenſion of the people

 " viſiting

" viſiting the Temple to deſtroy Louis and his wife: the latter
" braves it, and will to the laſt; the former is inſenſible to his
" fate. The night, however, paſſed over in ſilence; and this
" evening the Convention will meet, and the National Aſſembly
" take their leave. About three hundred of the preſent Aſſembly
" are returned to the Convention; the reſt retire with execra-
" tions. Mr. Paine made his appearance in the National Aſſembly
" laſt night, which excited great curioſity among both men and
" women, and occaſioned no ſmall interruption. The firſt who
" embraced him was Cambon, who laſt night made a moſt excellent
" ſpeech on the ſubject of the jewels, plate, &c. found in the churches,
" &c. in order to have them melted, as hitherto moſt infamous uſe
" had been made of them, by pawning them to the Jews, &c. to
" raiſe money for the emigrants. This motion was become the
" more neceſſary, as, a few nights ago, that is, on the morning of
" Tueſday, 40 men armed, entered the Thuilleries, and carried off
" 30 millions of livres. The gates of Paris have been ſhut, and
" a ſearch made: more than a million has been found. The
" treachery of Louis is ſo great, that the indignation of the people
" cannot be wondered at. He has anticipated the civil liſt a year
" and a half, and mortgaged his domains for ſix years. The
" bankers, and others who have advanced the money, will be
" ruined. Byde is gone. I will inform myſelf, between this
" and Monday, of every thing that is paſſing, and by that poſt
" ſend you a particular account of the 10th, the truth of which is
" not yet known in England, or, if known, concealed or miſ-
" repreſented to blacken the Revolution. Without the affair of
" the 10th, liberty was over. I am ſorry to learn that the conduct
" of your friend Gen. M—— is not well ſpoken of. He was
" in the Thuilleries all night of the 9th; and he and Captain
" Sampſon left about eight o'clock in the morning; and there is
" no doubt but he regulated the troops, and diſpoſed them in
" order to attack. His conduct was winked at, out of reſpect
" to the Engliſh. He is now with Dumourier's army, which is
" 80,000 ſtrong; and it is expected that an account will ar-
" rive this day of an engagement between him and the Pruſſians,
" as General Kellerman had, by a forced march over the moun-
" tains

" tains, joined him when he laſt wrote; within nine miles of " which, the Pruſſians being informed of his approach, made " an attack before the junction, and was repulſed. There are " 500,000 troops now upon the frontiers. The language of the " King of P—— is changed from that of threats to ſoothing; " and he has artfully endeavoured to perſuade the troops, that, as " they are unable to defend themſelves, and are betrayed by their " generals, they had better lay down their arms. Few Pruſſian " deſerters have come over; but a great number of Auſtrians " have entered. I have this moment read a letter from General " Money, who expects every moment the attack of the Pruſſians. " They have been joined by a great body of Brabanters, who " have all along fought with uncommon bravery. The poſt is " going out, and compels me to haſten to a concluſion. We " dine to-day with Pethion. Paine has entered his name on the " Roll of Parliament, and went through the forms of office with " a great deal of non chalance. We are well lodged, and, be- " ſides our bed-rooms, have an entertaining room for Members " to be ſhewn into: ſeveral have called this morning. We are " to give 10 livres a day. The Clerk of Parliament has this " moment been here—Mr. Roſe, a relation of the notorious " George Roſe. I have nothing more to add, but that Mr. " Paine is in good ſpirits; and indeed the flattering reception " he has met with all through France, could not fail of it. It " is more than I deſcribe. I believe he is rather fatigued " with the kiſſing. Pethion ſtill retains his popularity. Ro- " berſpierre has been attacked in the Primary Aſſembly, and told " that he was the moſt dangerous man in France, and that " a good citizen ought to blow his brains out. The Engliſh " I underſtand, ſhewed great puſillanimity. Tell Vaughan, his " friend Loſh was, for three or four days before he left the " hotel, very uneaſy, and thought he ſhould never ſee England " again. Mr. Watt is here, and very civil. " What is become " of Dr. Maxwell?" is the cry.

" Always your's,

Addreſſed " *John Horne Tooke, Eſq;*" " *J. F.*"

Mr. Garrow. Now I will give ſome account of what t tranſactions of the 10th of Auguſt were, which are ſtate neceſſary to liberty.

Mr. Garrow, to Mr. Huſkiſſon. Was you in Paris on 10th of Auguſt, 1792.

A. Yes, I was.

Q. I believe you reſided in the houſe of the Britiſh baſſador, Lord Gower?

A. I did.

Q. Had you been in Paris any time previous to the 10 Auguſt?

A. From the month of July, 1790.

Q. Be ſo good as to ſtate ſhortly, what the facts were, w are deſcribed as the tranſactions of the 10th of Auguſt, as relate to tranſactions at Paris and Verſailles, as they fell u your obſervation.

A. On the 10th of Auguſt, I had an opportunity of ſerving very little, as I did not go out during the conteſt took place in the courſe of that morning.

Q. What was the nature of that which you deſcribe as a teſt, which kept you at home?

A. I heard a firing, and I ſaw ſmoke. I ſaw afterwards of the out-buildings on fire at the Palace; and I ſaw pe running with their arms towards that part of the town.

Q. What did you find had occaſioned the firing---from had it proceeded, the firing of arms, and the firing the b ings?

A. The firing of arms, I underſtood, proceeded from pe who wiſhed to enter the Palace, and alſo from thoſe who poſed their entrance,

Q. Was the Palace, at that time, the reſidence of the and his family.

A. I believe it was,

Q. Can you deſcribe any other tranſactions of that day, w came within your knowledge at the moment, or that c within your obſervation afterwards.

A. I ſaw, in the evening of that day, the Governor of the Palace, who came to my lodgings to ſhelter himſelf; and he deſcribed to me ———

Q. In point of fact, the Governor of the Palace took ſhelter at your houſe.

A. He did. I went out in the evening, about nine o'clock, and I attempted ———

Mr. Garrow. I ſubmit to your Lordſhip, that what the Governor of the Palace ſaid at the time of taking ſhelter at the houſe of this Engliſh gentleman, is evidence.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Do not let us go into every particular of a tranſaction at that diſtance.

Mr. Baron Hotham. It is an hiſtory that is pretty publicly known.

Mr. Garrow. You was ſaying that you went out in the evening.

A. Yes, about nine o'clock. I did not ſee any thing worth mentioning. I went towards the bridge that leads to the Palace, where I was ſtopped by ſome centinels from approaching nearer. I ſaw the out-buildings of the Palace were then burning.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. The whole of it is, that there was a great tumult, a great ſlaughter, and that the King and his family ſheltered themſelves at the Convention, and were not reſtored to their liberty afterwards.

Mr. Garrow. Juſt ſo—we are perfectly content to take it ſo.

Mr. Huſkiſſon. Every body knows that.

Mr. Garrow. I believe every body knows, except the Jury.

Mr. Attorney General. I propoſe to read two letters, found in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Horne Tooke, and draughts of two letters in Mr. Tooke's hand-writing.

Mr. William Woodfall.

Examined by *Mr. Attorney General.*

Q. Do you know in whoſe hand-writing that paper is?

A. I think it, by the character, to be Mr. Tooke's.

Q. Have you ſeen him write?

A. I have, and believe it to be his, though I did not ſee him write it.

Q. Look at this paper?

A. The ſame hand-writing.

James Thornton (ſworn.)
Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. Look at theſe four papers—ſee if you find your name upon theſe, and whether you ſeized theſe?

A. Upon theſe two only.

John Thompſon (ſworn.) Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. Are you one of his Majeſty's Meſſengers?

A. No; I am Clerk to the Public-Office in Lambeth-ſtreet Whitechapel.

Q. Were you preſent when theſe papers were found?

A. Yes; they were found at Mr. Horne Tooke's houſe a Wimbledon.

Q. Was that after Mr. Tooke was taken into cuſtody?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. Where were they found?

A. Some were found in bureaus, and ſome in other places.

Q. Who were preſent when they were found?

A. Mr. Froſt and Mr. Vaughan.

Q. Did they attend as friends of Mr. Tooke?

A. They did.

Q. You got the keys, and you found theſe papers?

A. Theſe two papers (the two not ſpoken to by Mr. Thornton) are marked by me, as found in the houſe of Mr. Tooke.

[*Mr. Huſkiſſon delivered into Court, Engliſh tranſlations of t French papers.*

Draft of a Letter from Mr. Tooke to the Mayor of Paris, in Mr. Tooke's Hand-writing.

" SIR,

" You are in no want of friends in England, who ardent " wiſh to be uſeful to French Liberty. But we wiſh to kno " ſome one of your friends, who reſides in London, in whom y " have an intire confidence, and to whom we may give o " money, in the aſſurance that it will be remitted to you witho

" dela

" delay, and without fraud. Mr. Froſt, to whom I entruſt this " letter, is going to ſet out immediately with Mr. Paine, for " Paris, and allows me no time for ceremony, if it were neceſſary. " I requeſt you to ſend me the name of ſome Frenchman, in " London; Merchant, or other, for the purpoſe above mentioned. " We can now begin the public contribution towards our pa- " triotic gift with £.1000 ſterling; and I have no doubt but it " will amount in time to ſeveral thouſands.

" If you conſider this ſtep in the ſame point of view that " we do, you will ſee in it much uſe to the common cauſe of " England and France. I entreat you to give me your ſenti- " ments on the ſubject, and to point out to me the means by " which I may be uſeful to you.

" *I. HORNE TOOKE.*"

" BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

" Liberty is a bond which ought to unite all men, and which " will one day unite all nations. Theſe are preparing thoſe great " revolutions which diſſeminate uſeful truths. Thus the philo- " ſophical ſocieties make all deſpots tremble. You have the " glorious advantage of deſerving the hatred of your government. " The league of tyrants will never be able to reſiſt the power " of reaſon. Continue your precious labours---employ your- " ſelves in the enfranchiſement and the happineſs of the human " race. You will find in the French, worthy fellow labourers.--- " Honoured by the ſentiments which you expreſs for me, re- " ceive the aſſurances of my lively gratitude.

" Your fellow Citizen,

" *PETION.*"

" *6th October, firſt year of the French Republic.*

" Society of the Friends of the Revolution."

" *Paris, the firſt of October*, 1792,

" *the firſt year of the French Republic.*

" I have received, Sir, the letter which you have done me the " honour of addreſſing to me of the 13th ult. in which you " announce to me, that we are in no want of friends in England,

" who,

" who ardently wiſh to be uſeful to the French liberty; ar
" that it would be neceſſary that I ſhould point out to yo
" ſome perſon reſident in London, intitled to full confidenc
" and to whom you might remit, in full ſafety, the funds r
" ſulting from the patriotic gift which your countrymen a
" willing to contribute. You cannot, Sir, doubt of my eage
" neſs to ſecond views ſo uſeful, which will for ever merit o
" gratitude, will rivet the links of fraternity between us, ar
" muſt produce the greateſt advantages to England and Franc
" I ſhall have the honour, Sir, of ſending you, without dela
" the name of the perſon in whoſe hands you may place th
" funds which you deſtine to the ſupport of a cauſe whic
" in truth, is that of all people who cheriſh liberty.

" For the Mayor of Paris,

" *BONCHER RENE, Off. municipt.*

" Received at Wimbledon, Wedneſday, Oct. 9."

Indorſed " *1ſt October, 1792.---Copy of Letter from Pethion*
" *Tooke.*"

" MR. PRESIDENT,

" Thirty years ago I travelled in France, when ſhe w
" enſlaved. I received a thouſand civilities, and I was chagrine
" at her deſtiny. I now come to acquit myſelf of a ſmall pa
" of my former debt to France, in a ſtate of freedom. I entre
" her to accept theſe 4000 livres, and to apply them to th
" expences of the war againſt all the tyrants who have dared, c
" ſhall dare, to attempt againſt her liberty, without exceptin
" any one, were it even of my own country. As to the del
" of honour newly contracted as a French citizen, it will be th
" object of the reſt of my life to acquit myſelf of it faithfull
" and with zeal."

Indorſed " *Draft of an Addreſs to the Preſident of the Frenc*
" *Convention, in Mr. Tooke's own hand-writing.*"

Mr. Attorney General. I now propoſe to read ſome entrie
from the books of the Society for Conſtitutional Information
whic

which relate to the ſpeeches of Roland, St. Andre, and Barrere, mentioned in thoſe reſolutions, the ſubſtance of which I ſtated to your Lordſhips and the Jury, yeſterday.

They were read.

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " held at the Crown and Anchor, Strand, Friday, 18th. Janu- " ary 1793.

" PRESENT,

" Lord Sempill in the Chair.

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Bon- " ney, Mr. Rutt, Mr. John Martin, Captain T. Harwood, " Count Zenobio, Mr. Bryant, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Wills, " Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Reader, Mr. G. Williams, " Mr. Holcroft, Mr. B. Cooper.

" Reſolved,

" That Citizen St. Andre, a member of the National Con- " vention of France, being conſidered by us as one of the moſt " judicious and enlightened friends, of human Liberty, be ad- " mitted an aſſociated Honorary Member of this Society.

Reſolved,

" That the ſaid Reſolution be publiſhed in the papers.

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 25th, " January, 1793.

PRESENT,

Mr. Jennings in the Chair.

" Lord Sempill, Capt. Tooke Harwood, Mr. Bonney, Mr. W. " Sharp, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Hull, Mr. Bryant, Mr. John " Martin, Mr. H. Tooke, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Turnbull, " Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Satchell, Mr. Sturch, " Mr. Kydd, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Chalk, Mr. Margarot, Mr. " Hardy, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. White, Mr. " Chatfield.

" Reſolved,

" That Citizen Barrere, a member of the National Convention

" of

" of France, being conſidered by us as one of the moſt judicio
" and enlightened friends, of human Liberty, be admitted a
" aſſociated honorary member of this Society.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid Reſolution be publiſhed in th
" News-papers.

" Reſolved, That Citizen Roland, being alſo conſidered b
" us as one of the moſt judicious and enlightened friends of hu
" man Liberty, be admitted an aſſociated honorary member o
" this Society.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid Reſolution be publiſhed in the new
" papers."

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Informatio
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 1ſt.
" February, 1793.

PRESENT,

Mr. Fitzgerald in the Chair.

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Wills, Mr. Cooper, (Mancheſte
" Lord Sempill, Dr. Kentiſh, Mr. Tuffin, Mr. Hull, M
" John Martin, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Banks, Mr. Jenning
" Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Miller, M
" G. Williams, Mr. Parkinſon, Mr. Wardle, Mr. E
" Cooper, Capt. T. Harwood.

" *Read, a Circular Letter from the Sheffield Society for Conſti*
" *tutional Information.*

" Reſolved, That a Committee be appointed to report an anſwe

" Reſolved, That Mr. Tooke, Lord Sempill, Mr. Holcro
" Mr. Tuffin, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Cooper, (Mancheſte
" Dr. Kentiſh, and Capt. Harwood, be the Committee.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid Committee, meet at half paſt thre
" o'clock on Friday next, at this place.

" Reſolved, That the ſpeeches of Citizen St. André, and Citi
" zen Barrere, (aſſociated Honorary members of this Society) a
" given in the Gazette Nationale ou Moniteur Univerſelle, o
" Paris, on the 4th, 6th, and 7th, of January 1793, be inſerte
" in the books of this Society.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid Reſolution be publiſhed in th
" News-papers.

Mr. Garrow to Mr. Huſkiſſon. During your reſidence in Paris, and after you came to this country, was you in the habit of ſeeing the paper called the Moniteur Univerſelle.

A. I was.

Q. Look at theſe printed papers and ſay, whether from their appearance you take them, to be the French papers of thoſe dates.

A. They have every appearance of being ſimilar to thoſe which I took in, while at Paris, and afterwards in London.

Joſeph Deboffe (Sworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. You are I underſtand a Bookſeller.

A. Yes.

Q. Where is your ſhop!

A. In Gerrard-ſtreet Soho.

Q. Your ſhop was chiefly employed in ſelling foreign publications I believe?

A. Yes, and not only foreign publications, but all ſorts of works, and as to the news-papers which I ſold, they were the ſame that came through the channel of the poſt office, and by others.

Q. You ſold French news-papers.

A. Yes.

Q. And theſe French news-papers came by the channel, of the poſt from France, and by the channel of private conveyance.

A. Great part of them came from Paris, by the Packet, then ſent to Millet and Fector, and then forwarded by the mail coach. I received no papers, but what were duly opened at the Cuſtom Houſe at Dover?

Q. You are a native of France, I perceive!

A. No, I beg your pardon, I am a native of Switzerland.

Q. You are acquainted with the French language.

A. Yes.

Q. You probably have had many thouſand French news-papers paſs through your hands?

A. I have.

Q. Whether you are acquainted with that paper the Nationale Gazette, or Univerſelle Moniteur?

A Per-

A. Perfectly well; I have had a great many of them.

Q. Did you ever know of any of theſe French papers with th French titles, and in that ſhape, reprinted in England.

A. I have never known it.

Q. From the paper, from the type, and from the general appearance of theſe papers which you hold in your hand, comparing them with the recollection of thoſe which paſſed through your hand, in the way of your trade, do you believe theſe to be the French Moniteur, publiſhed in France, and conveyed to this Country, in the way you have ſtated?

A. Perfectly ſo, and more than that, there are many connections in London, through which the veracity of this, might be compared.

Q. We are not permitted to compare them with others; is that French paper, and is it printed with French types!

A. It is the real Paris paper, printed in Paris by Mr. Pilnewood, who is the proprietor of it. I have received them immediately from Mr. Pilnewood's own hands.

Mr. Attorney General. Then I offer to your Lordſhip the evidence of theſe three papers, one dated the 4th, another the 6th, and another the 7th of January, 1793, upon the evidence now given, which contain ſpeeches of Citizen St. Andre, and Citizen Barrere.

Mr. Erſkine. If your Lordſhip thinks theſe papers may be taken as evidence, I have no intereſt in diſputing it, I only wiſh to have the ſanction of the Court; I am not anxious about it.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I think it is a reaſonable evidence of their being what they are deſcribed.

Mr. Huſkiſſon delivered into Court Engliſh Tranſlations of Extracts from the ſaid Papers.

Mr. Erſkine. Is there the whole of it?

Mr. Attorney General. No; only extracts.

Mr. Huſkiſſon. The reading the whole would take up full two hours.

The Extracts read.

" Extract from the ſpeech of Jean-Bon St. André, taken from " the Moniteur of the 4th of January, 1793.

" TRANSLATION

" TRANSLATION.

" If you have to decide on the fate of Louis, it is becauſe " you are a Revolutionary Aſſembly, created by the French " Nation, in a ſtate of inſurrection."

" Extracts from the ſpeech of Barrere, taken from the Moni- " teurs of the 6th and 7th of January, 1793.

" TRANSLATION.

" The queſtion ſubmitted to your deliberation is of the " higheſt importance to public order, of the greateſt difficulty " in Legiſlation; of the utmoſt delicacy in Politics, abſolutely " neceſſary to Liberty, and connected with whatever is held moſt " ſacred by the nation.---The calmneſs which has prevailed in " the deliberations, for ſome days paſt, forbodes that it will be " decided according to juſtice and reaſon.---It will not eſcape " hiſtory, this contraſt between Kings, who often, amidſt the " diſſipation of Courts, ſigned proſcriptions, or the death warrant, " of a thouſand Citizens; and the repreſentatives of the people, " who deliberate with wiſdom and caution on the puniſhment of " a ſingle Deſpot.---It is the deſtiny of Kings to be the occaſion " of the calamities of the people, whether they remain on their " thrones, or whether they are precipitated from them."

" The people of Paris, by making an holy inſurrection " againſt him, (the King) on the 10th of Auguſt, deprived him " of his character of Inviolability.----The people of the other " Departments applauded this inſurrection, and adopted the re- " ſult of it.---The people have, therefore, already interpoſed to " deſtroy the Royal Inviolability.---Louis was inveſted by the " tacit conſent of the people, with a Conſtitutional Inviolability; " their tacit conſent has deprived him of the ſame, and is there- " fore as lawful as the grant of it.---The Inviolability of the " King cannot be abſolute; it is only relative, and for the end " of maintaining the Independence of the Conſtituted Au- " thorities."

" The

" The People is the Sovereign.

" A Convention differs from a Legiſlature in this reſpect: " a Legiſlature is only a ſpecies of ſuperintending Magiſtracy; " a Moderator of the Powers of Government: a Convention, " on the contrary, is a repreſentation of the Sovereign.—The " Members of the Legiſlative Aſſembly acted, in Auguſt, upon " theſe principles; and they declared, in their account of their " motives for calling a National Convention, that they ſaw but " one meaſure which could ſave France; namely, to have re- " courſe to the ſupreme will of the people, and to invite the " people to exerciſe immediately that inalienable right of So- " vereignty, which the Conſtitution had acknowledged, and " which it could not ſubject to any reſtriction.—The public " intereſt required, that the will of the people ſhould be mani- " feſted in the opinion of a National Convention, formed of " repreſentatives, inveſted by the people with unlimited powers. " The will of the people is manifeſted by the opinion of this " Convention.—The Convention being aſſembled, is itſelf that " Sovereign Will which ought to prevail.—It would be con- " trary to every principle, if the expreſſion of the general will " did not reſide in the Convention alone.

" You are the Repreſentatives of the Nation, which relies " upon you for taking every meaſure of public ſafety, neceſſary " to eſtabliſh and ſecure Liberty, and to proſcribe tyranny, " againſt which the nation has formed an holy inſurrection.

" It is Deſpotiſm when, in the ordinary and permanent " eſtabliſhment of a Government, there is no ſeparation of " powers.—But is it not the very eſſence of a Conſtituent Body " to concentre, for the time being, all authority?—Is it not the " very nature of a National Convention to be the temporary " image of the nation; to unite, in itſelf, all the powers of Go- " vernment, to employ them againſt the enemies of Liberty, and " to diſtribute them in a new ſocial compact, called a Con- " ſtitution?—Behold that Conſtituent Aſſembly, which, though " abominably calumniated at preſent, laid (in ſpite of the ſhame- " ful reviſion of the laws) the firſt foundation of your Liberty. " Behold it alone, with its Revolutionary Genius; it broke

" through

" through every impediment, exceeded its delegated authority, " created its own powers, according to the exigencies of Liberty, " and to the wants of the people; deſtroyed all prejudices by the " force of that public opinion to which it gave birth, obliterated " all privileges, aboliſhed all Parliaments, changed the form of all " property, as well as the ſign of all value, and made a perjured " King its priſoner.----Nothing was wanting to immortalize " that Aſſembly, but to have delivered France from the calamity " of Kingly Government, and to have relieved you from the " duty of judging the laſt of your Kings.

" Inveſted, from your origin, with the moſt unlimited con- " fidence by your fellow Citizens, you heſitate in the firſt " ſtep.

" Am I then no longer in the midſt of that National Con- " vention, whoſe honourable miſſion it was to deſtroy Kings " and Royalty."

Mr. Erſkine. I wiſh it to be underſtood, that theſe Gentlemen are ſpeaking in their place, as Members of the National Aſſembly in France.

Mr. Attorney General. I will explain the view with which I offer it.

Mr. Erſkine. You ſtated it very particularly in your opening.

Mr. Attorney General. You ſee they are now ſpeaking in their places, in the National Aſſembly in France.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. It is hardly worth debating; the purpoſe is ſo obvious, that it is impoſſible to be miſunderſtood.

The following Entry was read from the Books of the Society for Conſtitutional Information.

" At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 15th " February, 1793.

" PRESENT,

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Reader in the Chair.

" Mr. Froſt, Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Symonds,
" Mr. Martin, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Banks,
" Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. I. Williams, Capt. T. Harwood, Mr.
" Moore, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Balmanno.

" Read the following letter from the Society for Conſtitutional
" Information, at Birmingham, requeſting, that twelve of their
" members may be admitted aſſociated members of this ſociety.

" Birmingham, Feb. 6th, 1793.

" Friends and Fellow Citizens,

" The members of the Society for Conſtitutional Information,
" eſtabliſhed at this place Nov. 20th, 1792, take the opportunity
" to lay before you our printed addreſs and declaration, and our
" rules and orders, which we have adopted from the Sheffield
" Society, for our internal government.—And to ſhew our juſ-
" tice, our moderation, and love to all mankind, we deſire your
" advice and aſſiſtance, that the general mind of our ſociety may
" be formed unanimouſly to the beſt and moſt likely mode of
" obtaining our long-loſt rights as men free born, and as citizens
" by univerſal incorporation.

" The intereſted and bigotted ſupporters of the exploded ſyſ-
" tem of corruption, are continually throwing obſtacles in the
" way of all reform, and threaten us with rigorous proſecution,
" and exhibit all the engines of power and tyranny before us, for
" meeting to inveſtigate the laws of our country, and endea-
" vouring to obtain, in a legal and peaceable manner, the birth-
" right of every Briton, viz. an equal repreſentation of the peo-
" ple in parliament: notwithſtanding which, numbers daily
" flock to the ſtandard of liberty. We are determined, in ſpite
" of all baſe oppoſition, to perſevere as we have begun in the
" good cauſe, till we have obtained the deſirable end, a Redreſs
" of our Grievances.

" We ſincerely think the cauſe is of God, and that it would
" go on without our interference; but who can ſtand by an idle
" ſpectator,

ſpectator, and ſee our fellow-men ſtruggling for us in the cauſe of liberty, and not have a wiſh to lend a helping hand in the humane and Godlike work.

" We ardently and ſincerely deſire to become inſtrumental in ſo good and great a work, the cauſe of liberty, and of all mankind, both preſent and future.

" The grateful thanks of our ſociety are given to Mr. Horne Tooke, Major Cartwright, Mr. Erſkine, and the reſt of the members of the Conſtitutional Society for Information in London, for their firm and manly ſupport and perſeverance in our common cauſe of liberty and good-will to all mankind, and their ſteady purpoſe to obtain an effectual reform in the Legiſlative Houſe of the People, the Commons Houſe of Parliament.

" Our ſociety requeſts the favour of your admitting the following twelve perſons, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, to be inrolled members of your ſociety, for the purpoſe of correſponding with yours, and every other ſimilar inſtitution in the nation, for the better regulating our meaſures, and receiving inſtruction.

" Wiſhing you all the ſucceſs your laudable undertaking deſerves, we are, with ſincerity,

" Your Fellow Citizens and Friends,

" (Signed)

" John Meer,	David Blair,
" John Kilmiſter,	Thomas Clark,
" George Hill, ſen.	Timmins Nevill,
" John Kenrick,	William Beard,
" James Davy,	Thomas Hill,
" James Luckcock,	Benjamin Smith.

" Direct to George Hill, oppoſite the Fountain, Lower Temple-ſtreet, or to John Kenrick, Grocer, Colmore-row.

" To Mr. D. Adams, Secretary to
" the Society for Conſtitutional
" Information.

" Reſolved,

" Reſolved, That the twelve members of the Birmingham So-
" ciety for Conſtitutional Information, recommended in the ſaid
" letter, be admitted aſſociated members of this ſociety.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid letter, and the election of the ſaid
" twelve members, be publiſhed in the news-papers, excluſive of
" their names."

Mr. Garrow. I propoſe now to read the anſwer of the Birmingham Society, dated 25th March, 1793, to this communication of the Conſtitutional Society.

Mr. Thomas Maclean. I found this letter among Mr. Adams's papers.

It was read.

" Sir, " Birmingham, March 25th, 1793.

" At the requeſt of the Society for Conſtitutional Information,
" I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your letter; whereby it
" appears, that your ſociety have acceded to our requeſt, by
" electing the perſons, whoſe names you were furniſhed with,
" as aſſociated members in your ſociety; for which we beg you
" to accept our united thanks and beſt wiſhes, that your ſociety
" may go on to accumulate a maſs of true patriots, whoſe prin-
" ciples may not be ſubverted by intereſt, or conquered by fear.

" This ſociety offers with gratitude their thanks and commen-
" dations to Horne Tooke, Eſq. for the preſent accompanying
" your letter, but more particularly for his zeal in the cauſe of
" freedom, which cannot be promoted but by the free uſe of the
" preſs, which we truſt will never be reſtrained from Britons.
" Another letter accompanies this, containing a few particulars,
" which we doubt not you will peruſe with pleaſure. Will write
" you further on that ſubject ſhortly.

" I am, &c.

No Signature. " ——— Sec."

The following Entries were read from the Books of the Society for Conſtitutional Information.

" At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Friday 15th March,
" 1793,

" PRE-

" PRESENT,

" Capt. Tooke Harwood in the Chair.

" Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Tooke, Mr. Martin, Mr. " Fazackerly, Count Zenobio, Mr. Sharp, Mr. J. Williams, " Mr. Bonney, Mr. Symonds, Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. Holcroft, " Mr. Swainſon, Mr. Banks, Lord Sempill, Mr. Wills, Mr. " Parkinſon, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Froſt, Mr. G. Williams.

" Read a letter from the Conſtitutional Society, at Sheffield, " incloſing their reſolutions of the 13th of February laſt.

" Reſolved, That the ſecretary be inſtructed to return the " thanks of this ſociety to the Society for Conſtitutional Infor- " mation, at Sheffield, for their communication, and to acquaint " them, that this ſociety perfectly agree with them in their ſen- " timents with reſpect to the calamities of war in general; and " that they concur with them in thinking, that the thanks of the " community at large are due to all thoſe who have exerted " themſelves to prevent the preſent war.

" Ordered, That the treaſurer repay to Mr. Froſt ſixty livres, " paid by him at Paris, for the tranſlation of two addreſſes to " the National Convention of France.

" Reſolved, That the thanks of this ſociety be given to Joel " Barlow and John Froſt, for their conduct in the preſentation " of the addreſs of this ſociety to the National Convention of " France; and that Mr. Froſt be aſſured, that our regard for " him is not leſſened, but increaſed by the proſecutions and per- " ſecutions which his faithful and due diſcharge of that commiſſion " may bring upon him.

" Ordered, That this reſolution be publiſhed in the news- " papers.

" At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 22d " March, 1793,

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Symonds in the Chair.

" Mr. Froſt, Mr. Hull, Count Zenobio, Mr. Tooke, Mr. " Wills, Lord Sempill, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Satch-

" ell, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Aufell, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Bal-
" manno, Capt. T. Harwood, Mr. Parkinſon, Mr. J. Wil-
" liams, Dr. Kentiſh, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Hardy.

" Read a letter from the United Political Societies of Nor-
" wich.

" Reſolved, That the conſideration of the ſaid letter be poſt-
" poned till the next meeting."

Mr. Thomas Maclean. I found this paper in Mr. Adams's houſe.

It was read.

" The United Political Societies of Norwich.

" Gentlemen, *March 5th*, 1793.

" It is with peculiar ſatisfaction we are favoured with your
" correſpondence (not merely becauſe you are ſo, although you
" are better fitted to diffuſe knowledge) but becauſe you are em-
" barked in the ſame magnanimous cauſe, which demands with
" alacrity the attention of every individual; and it is with the ut-
" moſt regret we ſee ſo many, either from ignorance, or ſome-
" thing worſe, who are inimical to their own intereſt; for no-
" thing contributes ſo much to ſupport the oppreſſor, as the
" ignorance of the oppreſſed; for which purpoſe the flood-gates
" have beeen opened gradually, till, by degrees, the ſtreams of
" corruption have nearly overflowed the land: ſuch as bounty
" acts, borrowing, qualification, and ſeptennial acts, beſides
" ſtanding armies, exciſe and tything laws, with various others
" too painful for reflection, without credit to the framers thereof,
" and without advantage to ſociety. We do not preſume to re-
" capitulate theſe abuſes for your information, but being too ex-
" perimentally acquainted with them, we wiſh to find out a me-
" thod of redreſs. At preſent we ſee a great propriety in univer-
" ſal ſuffrage, and annual elections, but we beg you will be
" obliging enough to inform us of what you have collected of the
" ſenſe of the people by your correſpondents. We have to in-
" form you, that our worthy Correſponding Societies of London,
" have recently ſubmitted three propoſitions for our inveſtigation.

" Firſt,

" Firſt, whether a Petition to Parliament, or an Addreſs to the " King, or a Convention.

" Permit us briefly to ſtate our views for your reviſal; and " with reſpect to the firſt, we behold we are a conquered people. " We have tamely ſubmitted to the galling yoke, and reſiſtance " in the preſent circumſtances is vain. We cannot act the man, " and as neceſſity has no law, we think ourſelves under that " degrading neceſſity to ſtate our grievances to the Houſe of " Commons, with a requeſt for redreſs; and ſhould they refuſe to " grant our reaſonable petition, we have ſtill got (no thanks to " them) a formidable engine, that will convey the inſult to the " remoteſt parts of the kingdom. As to the propriety of the ſe- " cond, we wiſh to ſubmit to your ſuperior judgment, and ſhould " eſteem it a favour to be informed of the reſult; for at preſent " we are dubious of its good conſequences. Laſtly, a Conven- " tion, and oh! that the period were arrived!—but in the pre- " ſent ſtate of affairs, alas! it's impracticable: yet this is the " object we purſue, and eſteem any other means only in ſubordi- " nation to, and as having a tendency to accompliſh that deſira- " ble end.

" We wiſh to be in uniſon with our brethren and fellow-la- " bourers, and ſhould be glad of any information as ſoon as it is " convenient: and we beg your advice, whether it is neceſſary, " as ſoon as poſſible, to collect ſignatures to a petition for a real " repreſentation of the people, and by whom to preſent it, whe- " ther Mr. Coke, Mr. Burch, or any of the friends of the people; " and whether it is attended with any expence. *Our members are* " *both inimical to the buſineſs.*

" We can give you no accurate ſtatement of the repreſentation " in our neighbourhood, only obſerve, that it is equally farcical " here as elſewhere. To conclude, with united th—— for all fa- " vours received, wiſhing you h—— and ſucceſs, and may Hea- " ven avert———

" We ſubſcribe ourſelves, Gentlemen,

" Your very obliged humble Servants,

(Signed) " *J. BROUGHTON.*

" Note,

" Note. Please to direct to J. Broughton, St. Mary's Church,
" Mr. Blake being no longer our secretary.

" We have between thirty and forty separate societies in Nor-
" wich, besides many in the country villages.

" *Mr. D. Adams, No. 4, Tooke's Court,*
" *Chancery-lane, London.*

" At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 29th
" March, 1793,

" PRESENT,

" Capt. Tooke Harwood in the Chair.

" Mr. Symonds, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Hull, Mr. Martin, Lord
" Sempill, Mr. Bryant, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Frost, Rev. Mr.
" Joyce, Mr. Gay, Mr. I. Williams, Mr. G. Williams, Mr.
" Holcroft, Mr. Banks.

" Resolved, That the consideration of the letter from the
" United Political Societies of Norwich, be deferred till next
" meeting."

Mr. Garrow. At the meeting of the 22d of March, the consideration of this letter was postponed; it was postponed at the next meeting; and at the next meeting it is again postponed, which shews the deliberation required for preparing the answer.

The following Entries were read from the Books of the Constitutional Society.

" At a meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday 5th
" April, 1793.

" PRESENT,

" Capt. Tooke Harwood in the Chair.

" Mr. Tuffin, Lord Daer, Mr. Frost, Mr. Ausell, Mr. Bonney,
" Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Martin, Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr. Tooke,
" Mr. Kydd, Mr. Hull, Mr. Moore, Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. I.
" Williams,

" Williams, Mr. I. Cooper, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Balmanno, Lord " Sempill, Mr. Wills.

" Reſolved, That the conſideration of the letter from the " United Political Societies of Norwich, be poſtponed till the " next meeting; and that Mr. Froſt be requeſted to prepare an " anſwer.

" Reſolved, That a letter be written to Simon Butler and " Oliver Bond, Eſqrs. expreſſive of the high ſenſe we entertain " of their exertions in the cauſe of freedom, and to aſſure them, " that we conſider the impriſonment they at preſent ſuffer on that " account, as illegal and unconſtitutional.

" The following letter was produced and read.

" To S. Butler and O. Bond, Eſqrs.

" Gentlemen,

" It is not eaſy for men, who feel ſtrongly and ſincerely, to " convey thoſe feelings by letter. We therefore rely on your " conceiving for us much of that which we are unable to expreſs " to you. We think, however, that we ſhall be guilty of a " great omiſſion, did we neglect the opportunity of ſending you " by Mr. Hamilton Rowan, the honeſt tribute of our eſteem " and admiration, for your brave and manly reſiſtance to the " uſurped juriſdiction of the Iriſh ariſtocracy.

" Permit us to offer you our thanks, and our grateful ac- " knowledgment of your efforts, in what we conſider as a com- " mon cauſe, while we lament our inability of proving ourſelves " uſeful in your defence. Although we are of different king- " doms, ſtill we are but one people; and as the freedom of one " continent has ſpread its influence to Europe, ſo on the other " hand, we are perſuaded, that the eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm in " Ireland, muſt end in the ſlavery of Great Britain. But the " light of liberty is not confined to one ſhore, or one latitude.

" We know that it is eaſier to admire than to practiſe thoſe " virtues that tend to the public benefit.

" Yet ſo long as the exertions of a few courageous men muſt " influence the minds of at leaſt the independent and thinking " part of the community, we are aſſured that their labour is not

" fruitleſs

" fruitleſs. We truſt, therefore, the time will ſoon arrive, " when the abuſe of power in either nation, will have no other " conſequence than the ruin of thoſe who have committed that " injuſtice. We hope, and we doubt not of ſoon ſeeing the day, " when the poſt of honour ſhall be no longer that of obloquy " and puniſhment; but when thoſe who have riſqued their liberty " and fortune in the cauſe of their countrymen, may find protec- " tion in the undiſputed, uninterrupted exerciſe of trial by jury, " with a full and adequate repreſentation of the people in parlia- " ment.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid letter be ſigned by the chairman " and ſecretary; and that Mr. Hamilton Rowan be requeſted to " convey the ſame to Mr. Butler and Mr. Bond."

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " held Friday 12th April, 1793, at the Crown and Anchor Ta- " vern, Strand,

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Chriſtopher Hull in the Chair,

" Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. I. Williams, Mr, " Parkinſon, Mr. Froſt, Mr. Symonds, Mr. Campbell, Mr. " Martin, Mr. Reader, Mr. Gay, Mr. Vaughan, as one of " the Committee of French Subſcription, Mr. Banks, Lord " Daer, Capt. Harwood, Mr. Balmanno, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. " Hardy, Mr. Chatfield.

" Mr. Froſt read an anſwer (directed to be prepared by " him) to the letter received from the United Political Societies " in Norwich.

" Reſolved, that the ſaid anſwer be ſent by the ſecretary to the " ſecretary of the ſaid ſocieties."

Mr. Thomas Maclean. I found this paper at Mr. Adams's.

It was read.

" Sir,

" We have to acknowledge, with great ſatisfaction, the letter " which you favoured us with, dated the 5th inſtant, relative to

" the moſt deſirable of all other objects, the reform of our par-
" liamentary repreſentation. The honour you do us in ſuppoſing
" that we are better fitted than yourſelves for the promotion of
" political knowledge, we muſt diſclaim; becauſe we obſerve,
" with the greateſt pleaſure, that our country correſpondents
" have too much zeal and information to want ſucceſs in their
" public endeavours, whether at Norwich, at Sheffield, at Man-
" cheſter, or elſewhere throughout the nation. In our ſincerity
" for the good of our country, we truſt that we are all equal;
" and as ſuch we doubt not of our ultimate ſucceſs.

" We ſee with ſorrow the exiſtence of thoſe evils, which you
" ſo juſtly repreſent as the ſtreams of corruption overflowing
" this once free and proſperous country. We ſee with ſurpriſe
" and abhorrence, that men are to be found both able and wil-
" ling to ſupport thoſe corruptions. It is however no ſmall con-
" ſolation to find, that others are not wanting in every part of
" the nation of an oppoſite character, who are ready to remedy,
" by all laudable and honourable means, the defect in our repre-
" ſentation, the uſurped extenſion of the duration of parliaments,
" and other grievances ſuch as you notice in your letter.

" That the conſtitution of England has no more of that cha-
" racter it once poſſeſſed; that the ſuppoſed democracy of the
" country has become a matter of property and privilege; and
" that we have therefore no longer that mixt government which
" our adverſaries are praiſing, when they know it is no longer in
" our poſſeſſion, are facts notorious and indiſputable. Where
" then are we to look for the remedy? To that parliament of
" which we complain?—To the executive power, which is im-
" plicitly obeyed, if not anticipated in that parliament?—Or to
" ourſelves, repreſented in ſome meeting of delegates, for the
" eſpecial purpoſe of reform, which we ſuppoſe you underſtand
" by the term, CONVENTION?

" It is the end of each of theſe propoſitions that we ought to
" look to; and as ſucceſs in a good cauſe muſt be the effect of
" perſeverance, and the riſing reaſon of the time, let us deter-
" mine with coolneſs, but let us perſevere with deciſion. As to
" a Convention, we regard it as a plan the moſt deſirable and

" moſt

" moſt practicable, ſo ſoon as the great body of the people ſhall " be courageous and virtuous enough to join us in the attempt. " Hitherto we have no reaſon to believe that the moment is ar- " rived for that purpoſe. As to any petition to the crown, we " believe it hopeleſs in its conſequences. With reſpect to the " laſt of your propoſals, we are at a loſs to adviſe. If the event " is looked to in the vote which may be obtained from that body " to whom the petition is to be addreſſed, which of us can look " to it without the proſpect of an abſolute negative? In this " point of view, therefore, it cannot require a moment's conſi- " deration. But if we regard the *policy* of ſuch a petition, it " may, in our apprehenſion, be well worth conſidering as a " warning voice to our preſent legiſlators, and as a ſignal for " imitation to the majority of the people. Should ſuch a plan be " vigorouſly and generally purſued, it would hold out a certainty " to our fellow-countrymen, that we are not a handful of indivi- " duals unworthy of attention or conſideration, who deſire the " reſtoration of the antient liberties of England; but, on the " contrary, it might bring into light that hoſt of well-meaning " men, who in the different towns and counties of this realm are " ſilently but ſeriouſly anxious for reformation in the govern- " ment. We exhort you with anxiety to purſue your laudable " endeavours for the common good, and never to deſpair of the " public cauſe.

No Addreſs. " We are, &c."

Mr. Garrow. My Lord, from the contents of this paper, we ſtate it to be the draft of a letter prepared by Mr. Froſt, referred to in the laſt reſolution read.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You have given no evidence of the hand-writing of this paper.

Mr. Garrow. No, I have not. I produce it merely as being found in the poſſeſſion of Adams, the ſecretary to the Society for Conſtitutional Information. I will now put into court the letter actually ſent, which was found in the poſſeſſion of the ſecretary to the Norwich Society. It is dated, " Society for Conſtitutional Information, London, 15th April, 1793, ſigned by order, in the name of the Society for Conſtitutional

Information, D. Adams, Secretary," and addreſſed " Mr. L. Broughton, Secretary to the United Political Societies, Norwich."

" Society for Conſtitutional Information.

" London, 15th April, 1793.

" Sir,

" We have to acknowledge with great ſatisfaction the letter " which you favoured us with, dated the 5th inſtant, relative to " the moſt deſirable of all other objects, the reform of a parliamentary repreſentation. The honour you do us in ſuppoſing " that we are better fitted than yourſelves for the promotion of " political knowledge, we muſt diſclaim; becauſe we obſerve " with the greateſt pleaſure, that our country correſpondents " have too much zeal and information to want ſucceſs in their " public endeavours, whether at Norwich, at Sheffield, at Manchester, or elſewhere throughout the nation.

" In our ſincerity for the good of our country, we truſt, that " we are all equal, and as ſuch we doubt not of our ultimate " ſucceſs.

" We ſee with ſorrow the exiſtence of thoſe evils, which you " ſo juſtly repreſent as the ſtreams of corruption overflowing this " once free and proſperous country. We ſee with ſurpriſe and " abhorrence, that men are to be found both able and willing to " ſupport thoſe corruptions. It is however no ſmall conſolation " to find, that others are not wanting in every part of the nation of an oppoſite character, who are ready to remedy, by all " laudable and honourable means, the defect in our repreſentation, the uſurped extenſion of the duration of parliaments, and " other grievances ſuch as you notice in your letter.

" That the conſtitution of England has no more of that character it once poſſeſſed, that the ſuppoſed democracy of the " country has become a matter of property and *priveledge*, and " that we have therefore no longer that mixt government which " our adverſaries are praiſing, when they know it is no longer in " our poſſeſſion, are facts notorious and indiſputable. Where

" then

" then are we to look for the remedy? To that parliament o
" which we complain? To the executive power which is impli-
" citly obeyed, if not anticipated in that parliament? Or to our-
" ſelves, repreſented in ſome meeting of delegates for the eſpecial
" purpoſe of reform, which we ſuppoſe you underſtand by the
" word CONVENTION?

" It is the end of each of theſe propoſitions that we ought to
" look to; and as ſucceſs in a good cauſe muſt be the effect of
" perſeverance, and the riſing reaſon of the time, let us deter-
" mine with coolneſs, but let us perſevere with deciſion.

" As to a Convention, we regard it as a plan the moſt deſira-
" ble and moſt practicable, ſo ſoon as the great body of the peo-
" ple ſhall be courageous and virtuous enough to join us in the
" attempt. Hitherto we have no reaſon to believe that the mo-
" ment is arrived for that purpoſe. As to any petition to the
" crown, we believe it hopeleſs in its conſequences. With re-
" ſpect to the laſt of your propoſals, we are at a loſs to adviſe.
" If the event is looked to in the vote which may be obtained
" from that body to whom the petition is to be addreſſed, which
" of us can look to it without the proſpect of an abſolute nega-
" tive? In this point of view therefore it cannot require a mo-
" ment's conſideration. But if we regard the *policy* of ſuch a
" petition, it may, in our apprehenſion, be well worth conſidering
" as a warning voice to our preſent legiſlators, and as a ſignal for
" imitation to the majority of the people. Should ſuch a plan be
" vigorouſly and generally purſued, it would hold out a certainty
" to our fellow-countrymen, that we are not a handful of indi-
" viduals unworthy of attention or conſideration, who deſire the
" reſtoration of the ancient liberties of England; but, on the
" contrary, it might bring into light that hoſt of well-meaning
" men, who in the different towns and counties of this realm are
" ſilently but ſeriouſly anxious for a reformation in the govern-
" ment.

" We exhort you with anxiety to purſue your laudable endea-
" vours for the common good, and never to deſpair of the public
" cauſe.

" Signed

" Signed by order, in the name of the Society for Conſtituti-
" onal Information,

" Took's Court, 16th " D. ADAMS, Sec.
" April, 1793.

Addreſſed. " *Mr. I. Broughton, Secretary to the United Po-*
" *litical Societies, Norwich.*"

Mr. James Walſh (ſworn). Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. Did you execute any warrant for the purpoſe of apprehending Mr. Iſaac Saint, at Norwich, the Secretary of the Conſtitutional Society there?

A. I did not; but I was preſent when it was executed.

Q. Did you ſee any papers ſeized?

A. I ſeized them myſelf.

Q. Did you put your name upon them?

A. I did.

Q. Is this one of the papers you ſeized there?

A. It is.

The following Entries were read from the Books of the Society for Conſtitutional Information.

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 25th
" October 1793.

" PRESENT,

Mr. Bryant—in the chair.

" Count Zenobio, Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Alex-
" ander Wills Mr. Holcroft, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Bal-
" manno, Mr. Special, Mr. Rutt, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Auſell,
" Mr. Wardle, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Martin, Mr.
" Fitzgerald, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Hull, Mr.
" J. Williams, Mr. Benjamin Cooper.

" Mr. Sinclair read a letter, with an addreſs from Mr. Skirv-
" ing Secretary to the Convention, of the Friends of the People
" in Scotland, to Mr. Hardy, Secretary to the London Correſ-
" ponding Society.

" Reſolved,

« Reſolved, That an extraordinary General Meeting of this « Society be called for Monday next at the Crown and Anchor « Tavern, at ſix o'clock in the Evening, to conſider of the « utility, and propriety of ſending Delegates to a Convention of « Delegates of the different Societies, in Great Britain, to be held « at Edinburgh, for the purpoſe of obtaining a parliamentary « Reform.

« Reſolved, That the ſubſtance of the motion be inſerted in « the letter.

Mr. Garrow. Before the next entry is read, perhaps it will be convenient that I ſhould put in the original draft of theſe inſtructions, as there are ſeveral material alterations.

Mr. Daniel Adams. Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. Look at that Letter, and ſtate whether that is your ſignature.

A. It is.

Q. In whoſe hand writing is the letter?

A. My own.

Q. The whole of it is in your own hand writing.

A. Yes.

Q. Look at this other paper, are theſe the Inſtructions, which were originally prepared for the Delegates upon which your entry is afterwards made?

A. I cannot take upon me to ſay that, from the length of time.

Q. This was found among your papers we have heard.

A. Yes.

Q. What do you take that paper to be?

A. I ſhould not know it but from my own hand writing, at the bottom—I ſhould not know it to be the ſame otherwiſe.

Q. Look at it—Do you believe it to be an original minute, prepared for the purpoſe of being tranſcribed into the book of the Society.—

A. I don't know it for any other reaſon—here are a vaſt many interlineations which I cannot bring to my recollection at all.

Q. It was a paper you was afterwards to tranſcribe into your book?

A. It

A. It appears like a paper I was to tranſcribe, there are a great many interlineations in it.

Mr. Erſkine. Can you venture to give any thing like a diſtinct account of how that paper came to be ſo interlined as it is now?

A. I cannot.

Mr. Erſkine. Nor can you tell whether that was given to you for the purpoſes of inſertion, but that it was ſo obliterated that you was obliged to make another copy.

A. That I cannot tell.

Mr. Garrow. Suppoſing that paper to agree with your fair tranſcript, ſhould you believe then, that that is the paper which you tranſcribed fairly into the minute?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. That is reaſoning him into a belief; if he has any recollection upon the ſubject very well; if he has not you muſt not argue him into a belief of it.—This is a paper which purports to be a rough draft of Inſtructions, with conſiderable interlineations, and the paper that is in the book, correſponds with the draught ſo interlined—there let it ſtand.—Do you know the hand writing of the interlineations?

A. I do not.

[*The Inſtructions read,*]

"At an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Society for "Conſtitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor "Tavern, Strand, Monday 28th October 1793.

"PRESENT,

"Mr. Sinclair in the Chair.

"Mr. Satchell, Mr. Martin, Mr. Special, Mr. Parkinſon, Mr. "Mr. J. T. Rutt, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Wills, "Mr. Richter, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Faw- "cett, Mr. Margarot, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Wardle, Mr. "Jennings, Mr. Holcroft.

"Read, addreſſes to the Friends of the People of Parliamen- "tary Reform, ſigned by Mr. Skirving, Secretary to the "General Convention at Edinburgh.

"Reſolved, That this Society do ſend Delegates to the enſuing "Convention, to be held in Edinburgh, for promoting a Reform "in Parliament.

" Reſolved, That two members of this Society, be elected as " Delegates to the ſaid Convention.

" Henry Yorke, Charles Sinclair, and John Richter, were " propoſed.

" Reſolved, That the ſaid Gentlemen be now balloted for. " The Society proceeded to ballot accordingly, when Charles " Sinclair, and Henry Yorke, were elected.

" Mr. Sinclair being preſent, accepted of the ſaid office of " one of the Delegates.

" Reſolved, That ſhould either Henry Yorke, or Charles Sin- " clair, be prevented from accepting the delegation to the Con- " vention of Delegates at Edinburgh, John Richter be ap- " pointed to fulfil that office.

" Reſolved, That John Williams be requeſted to obtain the " neceſſary information of Henry Yorke, and communicate it " to the Secretary.

" Mr. Sinclair being requeſted to quit the Chair,

" Reſolved, That Mr. Fitzgerald be called to take the " chair.

" Reſolved, That the Secretary do deliver to the Delegates " appointed by this Society to repreſent them in the Convention " at Edinburgh, copies of the proceedings of the 25th and 26th " inſtant, by which they are appointed to that office.

Inſtructions to the Delegates.

" The Delegates are inſtructed, on the part of this Society, to " aſſiſt in bringing forward and ſupporting any conſtitutional " meaſures for procuring a real repreſentation of the Commons " of Great Britain, in Parliament. That in ſpecifying the re- " dreſs to be demanded of exiſting abuſes the Delegates ought " never to loſe ſight of the two eſſential principles, General Suf- " frage and Annual Repreſentation, together with the unalien- " able right in the people to reform, and that a reaſonable and " known compenſation ought to be made to the repreſentatives of " the nation, by a national contribution.

" That the Delegates do punctually correſpond with the So- " ciety, for the purpoſe of communicating information, and of

" re-

" receiving such farther instructions as the exigency may re-
" quire.

" Resolved, That the above be the directions to the Dele-
" gates.

" Resolved, That seven guineas be allowed to each of the
" Delegates, for travelling, and a sum not exceeding three gui-
" neas per week, each, be allowed them during the sitting of the
" Convention of Delegates, and that a subscription be now
" opened for that purpose, and that the secretary be requested to
" receive the same.

" Resolved, That the proceedings of Friday, the 25th. and
" Monday, 28th. October 1793, be signed by the Chairman
" and Secretary.

" Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to write to the
" different Societies with which this Society is in correspon-
" dence, informing them that the London Corresponding Society,
" together with this Society, have elected Delegates to the Con-
" vention of Delegates, to meet at Edinburgh on the 29th inst.
" and to request their concurrence to this important measure."

[*Mr. Garrow pointed out to the Court, the variations between the rough draught, and the instructions as finally adopted.*]

Copy of the rough draft.

" The Delegates are instructed on the part of this Society, to
" assist in bringing forward any petition or petitions to the House
" of Commons, for the purpose of procuring an enquiry in the said
" House, into the state of the representation of the Commons of
" Great Britain in Parliament. That they shall also demand in
" such petition or petitions, a specific remedy for the past, present,
" and possible abuses, in the *present* system of Representation,
" and an avowal of the right of eternal reform. That in specify-
" ing the principles upon which redress ought to be demanded,
" the Delegates have particular relation to those expressed in Mr.
" Pitt's speeches, before he was a placeman; in the Duke of
" Richmond's letter to Col. Sharman, before he was a minister;
" in Mr. Flood's speech, upon his motion for a Reform in Parlia-

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" ment, but above all, in the conſtitutional ſtrictures, contained " in the defence of John Horne Tooke, at the ſuit of Charles " James Fox, in an action for debt. And that the Delegates do de- " mand a right of voting for Members of Parliament, in favour " of all perſons not infants, paupers, lunatics, placemen or penſion- " ers. That voting ought to be only in the places or diſtricts of " the reſidence of the voter. That the time of election ought to " be very ſhort, and the collecting the votes be made in as many " different places in a diſtrict at once, as may be conveniently " and accurately taken; but above all, that the duration of Parlia- " ment ought to be annual. And that a reaſonable compenſation " ought to be made by a national contribution to the members " of the Parliament.

" That the Delegates do punctually correſpond with the So- " ciety, for the purpoſe of receiving further inſtructions, as the " exigency may require.

" Reſolved, That theſe be the directions to the Delegates.

" Adjourned to Friday next."

Copy of the Inſtructions as finally adopted.

" Reſolved, That the following be the directions, to the " Delegates.

" The Delegates are inſtructed on the part of this Society, to " aſſiſt in bringing forward, and ſupporting any conſtitutional " meaſures, for procuring a real repreſentation of the Commons " of Great Britain in Parliament. That they ſhall alſo demand " a remedy for the abuſes in the preſent ſyſtem of Repreſenta- " tion. That in ſpecifying the redreſs to be demanded of ex- " iſting abuſes, the Delegates ought never to loſe ſight of the " two eſſential principles, General Suffrage and Annual Repreſen- " tation, together with the unalienable right in the people to re- " form. And that a reaſonable and known compenſation ought " to be made to the repreſentatives of the nation by a national " contribution.

" That the Delegates do punctually correſpond with the So- " ciety, for the purpoſe of communicating information, and of

" re-

" receiving such further instructions as the exigency may re-
" quire.

" Adjourned to Friday, next."

[*The following entries were read from the Books of the Society, for Constitutional Information.*]

" At a General Meeting of the Society, for Constitutional
" Information, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand,
" Friday, 17th of January, 1794.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. John Horne Tooke in the chair.

" Mr. Sharp, Mr. Gerald, Count Zenobio, Mr. John Pearson,
" Mr. Wills, Mr. J. Williams, Dr. Edwards, Mr. Bonney,
" Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Harrison, Mr. John Martin, Mr. Fitz-
" gerald, Mr. Stock, Mr. Satchell, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Kydd,
" Mr. Banks, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Watts,
" Mr. Richter.

" Resolved, That law ceases to be an object of obedience
" whenever it becomes an instrument of oppression.

" Resolved, That we recall to mind, with the deepest satisfac-
" tion, the merited fate of the infamous Jefferys, once Lord
" Chief Justice of England, who at the era of the Glorious Re-
" volution, for the many iniquitous sentences which he had
" passed, was torn to pieces by a brave and injured people.

" Resolved, That those who imitate his example, deserve his
" fate.

" Mr. Tooke, having left the chair, Resolved, that Mr. Gerald
" be called to the chair.

" Resolved, That the Tweed, tho' it may divide countries,
" ought not, and does not, make a separation between those princi-
" ples of common *severity*, in which Englishmen and Scotchmen
" are equally interested; that injustice in Scotland, is injustice
" in England, and that the safety of Englishmen is endangered,
" whenever their brethren, in Scotland, for a conduct which enti-
" tles them to the approbation of all wise, and the support of all

 " brave

" brave men, are ſentenced to Botany Bay, a puniſhment hitherto
" inflicted only on felons.

" Reſolved, That we ſee with regret, but we ſee without fear,
" that the period is faſt approaching when the Liberties of Britons
" muſt depend not upon reaſon, to which they have long ap-
" pealed, nor on their powers of expreſſing it, but on their firm
" and undaunted reſolution to oppoſe tyranny by the ſame means
" by which it is exerciſed.

" Reſolved, That we approve of the conduct of the Britiſh
" Convention, who, tho' aſſailed by force, have not been anſwered
" by argument, and who, unlike the members of a certain aſſembly,
" have no intereſt diſtinct from the common body of the people.

" Reſolved, That a Copy of the above reſolutions be tranſ-
" mitted to Citizen William Skirving, Secretary to the Britiſh
" Convention, who is now impriſoned under colour of law
" in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

" Reſolved, That the reſolutions now paſſed be publiſhed in
" the Newſpapers.

" Reſolved, That the reſolutions now paſſed be ſigned by
" the Chairman and Secretary."

Mr. Erſkine. I ſee Mr. Hardy was not there.

Mr. Garrow. No but there was a letter read from Mr. Hardy, which letter was read this morning, accompanying the copy of Margarot's indictment, and ſtating that anniverſary dinner of the London Correſponding Society.

" At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Informa-
" tion, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday,
" 24th January 1794.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. John Pearſon in the chair.

" Mr. Horne Tooke, Count Zenobio, Mr. Froſt, Mr. Bonney,
" Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Stark, Mr. Banks,
" Mr. Rutt, Mr. Bonham, Mr. Kydd, Captain Gawler,

" Mr.

" Mr. Wardle, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Watts, " Mr. John Martin.

" A motion was made, that it be

" Reſolved, That the moſt excellent Addreſs of the London " Correſponding Society, be inſerted in the books of this ſociety, " and that the King's Speech to HIS * Parliament be inſerted " UNDER IT.—In order that they may be always ready, for the " perpetual reference of the members of this ſociety, during the " continuance of the preſent unfortunate war; and that, in per- " petuam rei memoriam, they may be printed together, in one " ſheet, at the *Happy* concluſion of it; which happy concluſion, " according to the preſent *proſperous* appearances, we hope and " believe not to be many months diſtant.

" * An amendment was moved, ' That between the words " HIS and Parliament, the word *Honourable* ſhould be in- " ſerted.'

". *Honourable* was withdrawn.

" Another amendment was then moved, ' That between the " words HIS and Parliament, the word *Faithful* ſhould be " inſerted.'

" *Faithful* was withdrawn.

" And it was unanimouſly reſolved, ' That HIS, and HIS " only, is the proper epithet for Parliament upon the preſent " occaſion.'

" The reſolution then paſſed unanimouſly, in its original " form.

" Reſolved, That the London Correſponding Society have " deſerved well of their country.

" Reſolved, That the Secretary be ordered to cauſe forty " thouſand copies of the Addreſs, the Speech, and theſe Reſo- " lutions, to be printed on one ſheet, and properly diſtributed in " England, Scotland, and Ireland.

" Reſolved, That theſe reſolutions be publiſhed in the news- " papers."

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 7th
" of February, 1794,

" PRESENT,

" Dr. Kentiſh in the chair.

" Mr. I. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Bryant, Mr. Arthur
" Blake, Mr. Wills, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Weldon, Mr. G.
" Williams, Mr. Green, Mr. J. Pearſon, Mr. John Martin,
" Mr. Thompſon, M. P. Mr. Wardle, Mr. J. Williams,
" Rev. Mr. Harris, Mr. Parkinſon.

" Ordered, That the reſolutions relative to the Addreſs of
" the London Correſponding Society, paſſed at the meeting on
" the 24th of January laſt, be ſent to the Edinburgh Gazetteer
" for inſertion.

" Ordered, That a copy of the ſaid reſolutions of the 24th of
" January, be ſent to the Secretary of the London Correſponding
" Society."

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information,
" held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Friday, 7th of
" March, 1794,

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Sharpe in the chair.

" Mr. Gawler, Rev. J. Joyce, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Blake,
" Mr. Tooke, Mr. Wills, Mr. G. Williams, Mr. Satchell,
" Mr. Wardle, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Stark, Mr. Hull, Mr. Hol-
" croft, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Thompſon, Mr. Rutt, Mr. J.
" Williams, Mr. Beck, Mr. Banks, Mr. H. Campbell,
" Mr. Fawcett.

" Mr. Tooke gave notice that he would, at the next meeting
" of this ſociety, move that two books ſhould be opened; one
" of them (bound in black) in which ſhall be entered all the
" enormities of thoſe who deſerve the cenſure, and, in the other,
" the merits of thoſe who deſerve the gratitude of the ſociety."

" At

" At a meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, 28th of March, 1794,

" PRESENT,

" Mr. John Pearſon in the chair,

Mr. H. Tooke, Mr. Bonney, Mr. Hull, Mr. William Sharpe, " Mr. Wills, Mr. Wardle, Rev. Mr. Joyce, Mr. Kydd, " Mr. J. Williams, Rev. Dr. Towers, Mr. Thompſon, " Mr. Scott, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Beck, Mr. Parkinſon, " Mr. Banks, Mr. Stark, Mr. Moore, Mr. Jennings.

" Reſolved,

" That an Addreſs be ſent from this ſociety to Meſſrs. Muir, ' Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald.

" The following Addreſs was propoſed by Mr. Joyce, to " Meſſrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald:

" FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

" Although we have hitherto been the ſilent, yet we have " by no means been the unconcerned ſpectators of your conduct " and ſufferings. We have ſeen and approved of your exertions " for your country's happineſs; we have marked, with honeſt " indignation, every ſtep that your enemies have taken to bring " you to your preſent ſituation.—Your enemies are the enemies " of public Liberty:—the men who are conſpiring againſt the " Happineſs of Mankind.—The cauſe in which you embarked, " and to which you have borne an honourable teſtimony, is " worthy of every exertion, and its importance to the world too " great to expect its accompliſhment without oppoſition.

" The hiſtory of Liberty, for whoſe ſake you are doomed to " a long and unmerited exile, will afford, in the preſent inſtance, " that conſolation that former Martyrs to the ſame cauſe have " experienced; the conſolation that you will not, you cannot " ſuffer in vain.

" Man may periſh, but Truth will prevail; neither perſecu- ' tion, nor baniſhment, nor death itſelf, can finally injure the ' progreſs of thoſe principles which involve the General Happineſs ' of Man.

" While,

" While, therefore, we join every Friend to Humanity in " lamenting what you have already endured, and with anxious " hearts anticipate the perils to which you may be expoſed in a " barren and uncultivated country; yet we can rejoice, that the " ſources of Happineſs are limited to no place, but are as ex- " tenſive as the Dominion of God:—under the protection of " that Great Being may you, at all times, and in all places, feel " the pleaſure that ariſes from Conſcious Integrity.

" Fellow Citizens, we aſſure you, that the memory of your " virtues ſhall never be effaced from our breaſts; the cauſe for " which you have ſtruggled, is a glorious cauſe; the world that " has witneſſed your exertions, ſhall witneſs ours alſo.—A full " and fair repreſentation of the people of Great Britain, we ſeek, " with all the ardour of men and Britons; for the ſake of which " we are not only ready to act with vigour and unanimity, but, " we truſt, prepared alſo to ſuffer with conſtancy.

" Our beſt wiſhes will ever attend you; and we do believe " that the day is not very diſtant when we ſhall again receive " you, on Britiſh ſhores, the welcome children of a FREE and " HAPPY country."

" Reſolved, That the ſame be ſent to Meſſrs. Muir, Palmer, " Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald.

" Ordered, That the ſaid Addreſs be publiſhed in the News- " papers.

" Mr. Joyce gave notice, that he would, on Friday next, bring " forward a motion relative to the ſpeech of Mr. Dundas, on " Tueſday laſt, reſpecting the introduction of Scotch Law in " England.

" Read a letter from the London Correſponding Society.

" Reſolved, That the ſame be entered on the books of this " ſociety.

" *March 27th*, 1794.

" To the Secretary of the Society for Conſtitutional In- " formation.

" CITIZENS,

" I am directed, by the London Correſponding Society, to " tranſmit the following reſolutions to the Society for Conſtitu-

tional

" tional Information, and to requeſt the ſentiments of that ſociety, " reſpecting the important meaſures which the preſent juncture " of affairs ſeems to require.

" The London Correſponding Society conceives, that the " moment is arrived when a full and explicit declaration is " neceſſary from all the Friends of Freedom,—Whether the " late illegal and unheard-of proſecutions and ſentences ſhall de- " termine us to abandon our cauſe, or ſhall excite us to purſue a " radical reform, with an ardour proportioned to the magnitude " of the object, and with a zeal *as diſtinguiſhed*, on *our* parts, as " the *treachery of others*, in the ſame glorious cauſe, is *notorious*. " The Society for Conſtitutional Information is therefore re- " quired to determine, whether or no they will be ready, when " called upon, to act in conjunction with this and other ſocieties, " to obtain a fair repreſentation of the people.—Whether they " concur with us in ſeeing the neceſſity of *a ſpeedy Convention*, " for the purpoſe of obtaining, in a conſtitutional and legal " method, a redreſs of thoſe grievances under which we, at " preſent, labour, and which can only be effectually removed by " a full and fair repreſentation of the PEOPLE of Great Britain. " The London Correſponding Society cannot but remind their " friends, that the preſent criſis demands all the prudence, " unanimity, and vigour, that ever may or can be exerted by " MEN *and Britons*; nor do they doubt, but what manly firm- " neſs and conſtancy will finally, and they believe ſhortly, " TERMINATE in the full accompliſhment of all their wiſhes.

" I am, Fellow Citizen,

" (In my humble meaſure,)

" A Friend to the Rights of Man,

(Signed) " *T. HARDY, Secretary.*"

" Reſolved unanimouſly, 1ſt, That dear as JUSTICE and " LIBERTY are to Britons, yet the value of them is comparatively " ſmall, without a dependance on their permanency; and there " can be no ſecurity for the continuance of any *Right*, but in " EQUAL LAWS.

" 2d, That equal Laws can never be expected, but by a full " and fair repreſentation of the people.—To obtain which, in

" the

" the way pointed out by the Conſtitution, has been and is the " ſole object of this ſociety.—For this we are ready to hazard " every thing; and never, but with our lives, will we relinquiſh " an object which involves the happineſs, or even the political " exiſtence of ourſelves and poſterity.

3d, That it is the decided opinion of this ſociety, that, to " ſecure ourſelves from future illegal and ſcandalous proſecutions, " to prevent a repetition of wicked and unjuſt ſentences, and to " recal thoſe wiſe and wholeſome laws that have *been* wreſted " from us, and of which ſcarcely a veſtige remains; there ought " to be *immediately* a CONVENTION of the PEOPLE, by delegates, " deputed for that purpoſe, from the different ſocieties of the " *Friends* of *Freedom*, aſſembled in the various parts of this " nation.—And we pledge ourſelves to the public, to purſue " every legal method ſpeedily to accompliſh ſo deſirable a " purpoſe.

" P. S. I have to inform you, that a general meeting of the " ſociety will be holden on Monday, the 14th of April, the place " to be announced by public advertiſement.

" Reſolved, That it is fit and proper, and the duty of this " ſociety, to ſend an anſwer to the London Correſponding " Society.

" Ordered, That the Secretary acquaint the London Correſ- " ponding Society, that we have received their communication, " and heartily concur with them in the objects they have in " view; and that, for the purpoſe of a more ſpeedy and effectual " co-operation, we invite them to ſend to this ſociety, next " Friday evening, a delegation of ſome of their members."

" At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, " held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday, " April 4, 1794.

" PRESENT,

" Mr. Symonds in the chair.

" Mr. Tooke, Mr. Thompſon, Mr. Blake, Mr. Bonney, Mr. " Wills, Mr. J. Pearſon, Mr. Joyce, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. " Wardle,

« Wardle, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. W. Sharpe, Mr.
« Beck, Mr. Kydd, Mr. Banks, Mr. Richter.

« Read a letter from the committee of the London Correſ-
« ponding Society, acquainting this ſociety that they had deputed
« Matthew Moore, John Baxter, John Thelwall, Richard
« Hodgſon, and John Lovett, to hold a conference with the
« members of this ſociety.

« Mr. Moore, Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Hodgſon, Mr. Lovett
« and Mr. Baxter, attended from the London Correſponding
« Society.

« Reſolved, That a delegation of five members of this ſociety
« be appointed to meet the members deputed by the London
« Correſponding Society.

« Reſolved, That Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Joyce, Mr. Wardle, Mr.
« Holcroft, and Mr. Kydd, be a deputation to confer with
« the deputies of the Correſponding Society.

« Reſolved, That there be appointed a committee of correſ-
« pondence of the members of this ſociety.

« Reſolved, That Mr. Joyce, Mr. Bonney, Mr. W. Sharpe,
« Mr. J. Pearſon, Mr. Tooke, and Mr. Wardle, compoſe the
« committee."

« At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information,
« held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, Friday,
« April 11, 1794.

« PRESENT,

« Mr. Joyce in the chair.

« Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Tooke, Mr. J. Pearſon, Mr. Symonds,
« Mr. Hull, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Milner, Mr. Kyd, Mr. Wills,
« Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Scott, Mr. Thompſon, Mr. G. Wil-
« liams, Mr. Holcroft, Mr. Chatfield, Mr. Beck, Mr. Hardy,
« Rev. Mr. Macewen *(Dundee)*, Mr. Fawcett *(Pancraſs-*
« *lane)*, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Richter.

« Mr. Joyce made the report of the Meeting of the delegates
« of the London Correſponding Society, for the purpoſe of this

« Society

" Society co-operating with the London Corresponding Society,
" and that they had come to the following resolutions:

" 1st, Resolved, That it appears to this committee very de-
" sireable that a General Meeting or Convention of the Friends
" of Liberty, should be called for the purpose of taking into con-
" sideration the proper methods of obtaining a full and fair Repre-
" sentation of the People.

" 2d, Resolved, That it is recommended to the Society for
" Constitutional Information, and the London Corresponding
" Society, to institute a regular and pressing correspondence with
" all those parts of the country where such measures may be likely
" to be promoted, not only to instigate the societies already
" formed, but to endeavour also to produce such other associations
" as may farther the general object.

" 3d, Resolved, That it appears to this committee, that the
" general object will be much promoted, if a standing committee
" of co-operation between the two societies were established, for
" the purpose of holding personal communication with such mem-
" bers of similar societies in other parts of the country as may
" occasionally be in London, and who may be authorized by
" their respective societies to act with such committees."

" Read the following letter from the Secretary to the London
" Corresponding Society.

" *April* 10, 1794.

" CITIZEN,

" I am ordered by the committee of delegates of the London
" Corresponding Society, to inform the Society for Constitutional
" Information, that they approve of the resolutions of the com-
" mittee of conference.

" Therefore, the London Corresponding Society have chosen
" Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, John Baxter, Richard Hodg-
" son, and John Lovatt, to put in practice immediately the
" second and third resolutions of that committee.

(Signed) " *THOMAS HARDY, Secretary.*"

" *D. Adams, Secretary to the Society for Constitutional*
" *Information.*"

" Resolved

« Reſolved, That the report of the committee of delegates « from the London Correſponding Society, and of this ſociety, « be entered in the books of this ſociety.

« 1ſt, Reſolved, That it appears to this ſociety very deſirable, « that a General Meeting of the Friends of Liberty ſhould be « called, for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the proper « methods of obtaining a full and fair Repreſentation of the « People.

« 2d, Reſolved, That it appears to this ſociety, that the « general object will be much promoted if a ſtanding committee « of co-operation were eſtabliſhed, for the purpoſe of holding « perſonal communication with ſuch members of ſimilar ſocieties « in other parts of the country as may occaſionally be in London, « and who may be authorized by their reſpective ſocieties to act « with committees.

« 3d, Reſolved, That the committee of correſpondence already « appointed by this ſociety, be the committee for co-operation « and communication with the committees of other ſocieties.

« Ordered, That the ſecretary be deſired to ſend a letter to « the London Correſponding Society, acquainting them with the « members of this ſociety appointed to confer with them.

« Reſolved, That Mr. Joyce be requeſted to accept of the « office of ſecretary of the committee of correſpondence.

« Mr. Joyce being preſent, accepted of the ſaid office."

« At a Meeting of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, « held at the Crown and Anchor-Tavern, Strand, Friday, « May 9, 1794.

« PRESENT,

« Mr. Wardle in the chair,

« Mr. Hull, Mr. J. H. Tooke, Mr. Froſt, Mr. W. Sharpe, « Mr. J. Pearſon, Mr. Hodgſon, Mr. Joyce, Mr. J. Wil- « liams, Mr. Savage, Mr. Chatfield.

« Read a letter from Mr. Muir, on board the Surprize tranſ- « ſport, in anſwer to the addreſs of this ſociety.

« Reſolved, That the ſame be entered in the books of the « ſociety.

« Read

" Read a pamphlet, containing certain proceedings of the " London Correſponding Society, and of this ſociety.

" Reſolved, That two thouſand of the ſame be printed by this " ſociety."

Mr. Maclean. I found this printed pamphlet at Mr Adams's.

Mr. Garrow. This is one of the pamphlets which the laſt reſolution of the Conſtitutional Society directed to be publiſhed, and which was found in the poſſeſſion of the ſecretary to that ſociety. The letter of the 27th of March 1794 is introductory to this; that is, a letter from the London Correſponding Society to the Society for Conſtitutional Information, with their reſolutions encloſed; they have been read before.

Mr. Erſkine. This letter having been already read, I ſhould be ſorry to inſiſt upon the Court and Jury hearing it again, but when parts of papers are read, other parts may be out of recollection; though your Lordſhips and I may have a recollection of it, the Jury may not: I cannot tell whether every body elſe will form the ſame opinion of my caſe that I do, otherwiſe I ſhould not be apprehenſive of any thing.

Mr. Garrow. The firſt thing is the letter, and the reſolutions of the 27th of March, which have been read.

The following extracts were read from the printed pamphlet produced by Mr. Maclean.

" *Proceedings, &c. of the Society for Conſtitutional Information.*

" Society for Conſtitutional Information.

" *London, March* 28, 1794.

" Reſolved, That the following addreſs be ſent to Meſſrs- " Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald.

" FRIENDS and FELLOW CITIZENS,

" Although we have hitherto been the ſilent, yet we have by " no means been the unconcerned ſpectators of your conduct and " ſufferings. We have ſeen and approved of your exertions for " your country's happineſs.—We have marked with honeſt in- " dignation, every ſtep that your enemies have taken to bring " you to your preſent ſituation. Your enemies are the enemies " of

" of PUBLIC LIBERTY, the men who are conſpiring againſt the " happineſs of mankind. The cauſe in which you are embarked, " and to which you have borne an honourable teſtimony, is " worthy of every exertion, and its importance to the world too " great, to expect its accompliſhment without oppoſition.

" The hiſtory of liberty, for whoſe ſake you are doomed to a " long and unmerited exile, will afford, in the preſent inſtance, " that conſolation that former martyrs to the ſame cauſe have " experienced; the conſolation, that you *will not*, you *cannot*, " ſuffer in vain.

" Men may periſh, but truth will prevail; neither perſe- " cution, nor baniſhment, nor death itſelf, can *finally* injure the " progreſs of thoſe principles which involve the general hap- " pineſs of man.

" While, therefore, we join every friend to humanity in " lamenting what you have *already* endured, and with anxious " hearts, anticipate the perils to which you *may* be expoſed in a " barren and uncultivated country, yet we can rejoice that the " ſources of happineſs are limited to no place, but are as " extenſive as the dominion of GOD; under the protection of " that GREAT BEING, may you at all times, and in all places, " feel the pleaſure that ariſes from conſcious integrity.

" Fellow-Citizens, we aſſure you that the memory of your " virtues ſhall never be effaced from our breaſts; the cauſe for " which you have ſtruggled, is a glorious cauſe, the world that " has witneſſed *your exertions*, ſhall witneſs *ours alſo*.

" A full and fair Repreſentation of the People of Great- " Britain, we ſeek with all the ardour of Men and Britons, for " the ſake of which we are not only ready *to act with vigour and* " *unanimity, but we truſt, prepared alſo to ſuffer with conſtancy.*

" Our beſt wiſhes will ever attend you, and we do believe " that the day is not very diſtant, when we ſhall again receive " you on the Britiſh ſhores, the welcome children of a FREE " and HAPPY COUNTRY.

" By Order of the Society."

" To the Chairman of the Society for Conſtitutional Information.

" *Surprize Tranſport, April* 16, 1794.

" FELLOW CITIZENS,

" I have long ſince looked upon your ſociety with admiration " and eſteem, conſidering it as the ſource and ſchool of moſt of " the political information, which, by the bleſſing of God, has " overſpread the iſland. I have been inſtructed by the wiſdom " of your papers, and animated by the ſpirit of your addreſſes. " That my conduct is approved by ſuch a ſociety, is my pride " and my joy.

" You ſay, (and the conſideration is the ſupport of my life) " *that the hiſtory of liberty will prove by the experience of her* " *former martyrs, that ſufferings in her cauſe cannot be in vain.* " That my ſufferings may not be in vain, I ardently wiſh that " the eyes of my countrymen were open, not only to the ille- " gality and deſpotiſm of my ſentence, but to the alarming " meaſures by which it was brought about. *My Jury was three* " *times packed by the ſervants of the Crown before it ſat upon me.* " In the firſt inſtance by the Sheriff's deputy, placemen imme- " diately appointed by the Crown; in the ſecond, by the Crown " Agent, Lord Advocate, &c. at Edinburgh; and in the third, " by the Juſticiary Lords, who tried the cauſe. Theſe laſt, " arbitrarily appoint the fifteen particular perſons who are to ſit " upon the accuſed. The ſtrongeſt objections are mere air, as " the Lords alone are the judges of the validity of them. A " majority of the fifteen condemns. If, therefore, miniſtry, " with their all-extenſive influence, can in three countries find " only eight ſervile tools ſubſervient to their views, the fortune, " the liberties, the lives of all Scotland are at their mercy. Trial " is condemnation. The ſentence is appointed before-hand by " the Miniſter, and mine was known a full week at Edinburgh " before it was uttered. They can ruin, or even murder whom " they pleaſe. This infamous robbery of the firſt right of En- " gliſhmen, a trial by Jury fairly choſen, I have endeavoured to " ſet forth in a letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, " laſt October or November, of the date (if I remember rightly)

" of

of the 22d or 27th, of which I now avow myself the author, to which I beg leave to draw the attention of the Society for Conſtitutional Information. Farewell, Fellow Citizens.

" I am, with reſpect and eſteem,

" Your equal Brother,

" THOMAS FYSHE PALMER."

Surpriſe Spithead, April 16, 1794."

" *Surpriſe Tranſport, Spithead, April* 17, 1794.

" MR. PRESIDENT,

" Permit me, Sir, to aſſure you, and the reſpectable Conſtitutional Society, that the very conſoling addreſs, received agreeably to their Reſolution of the 28th ult. has excited in me, as alſo in the hearts of each of my fellow Martyrs, for the important cauſe of univerſal ſuffrage, and annual Parliaments, the moſt lively ſenſations of gratitude and eſteem. The Conſtitutional Society was the foremoſt of true Patriots to raiſe the Standard of Reform, for the purpoſe of redeeming from the contaminating and contagious influence of corruption, thoſe venerable, but almoſt loſt principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution. Wrought into it by the blood, and irreſiſtible energies of our forefathers, many of whom, rather than that theſe principles, upon which depend the virtue and felicity of Society ſhould be oft ſight of, exhibited their high eſteem of them on Scaffolds and in Dungeons; that all, even the moſt callous ſpectators might be perſuaded, that the truths for which they did not reckon even their lives too dear a ſacrifice, were ſurely worthy of the unprejudiced inveſtigation of all. Your remark therefore is juſt, and it is very ſoothing to us, " *We do not, we cannot ſuffer for ſuch a cauſe in vain.*" The reſentment of our enemies, driving them into ſuch abſurd meaſures towards men, againſt whom vice of any kind is not even alledged, muſt have moved in every unprejudiced mind, the reſtleſs queſtion; Why? Why are men who ſeek the improvement of their ſpecies thrown with Felons into Dungeons? And full information muſt follow ſincere enquiry, and at length convert

" all to the ſide of truth and righteouſneſs. I therefore chearfully
" conſent to ſuffer *to promote the general good.*

" We are blamed as having prematurely, at leaſt, expoſed our-
" ſelves to the neceſſity of ſealing by our ſufferings, the cauſe we
" would promote. If in this caſe we have erred, I will readily
" take the whole blame, as having ſtrained every nerve to preſs
" forward the meaſure of a general Convention, as being the only
" means to avert impending ruin. I ſought to arouſe and alarm
" my countrymen to conſider their extreme danger. I feared
" that the neceſſity for ſuch aſſociation would be on us before we
" were prepared for it. Beſides, what meaſure could poſſibly in-
" tereſt ſo much the public enquiry? what has ſo much increaſed
" public information? It excited counter aſſociations, and cauſed
" every man to ſee who were on the ſide of truth, and who were
" on the ſide of corruption: It expoſed the ſelfiſh and intereſted
" deſigns of the one, and the unfeigned proſecution of the public
" good by the other. I ſpeak ſo with the greater confidence be-
" fore a Society that muſt have marked the progreſs of *informa-*
" *tion* ſo long under their own auſpices. You muſt know that
" this progreſs, the exciting the enquiry of the public, has been
" more extenſively effected during the laſt year, than during the ten
" preceding ones. The cauſe was the General Convention. The
" terror and hatred of Miniſtry to it proves the truth. Who
" then would have refuſed even his life to have been inſtru-
" mental in promoting ſo much good.

" Your explicit approbation of our conduct has prompted this
" ſelf-exultation; forgive therefore my freedom. I may be miſ-
" taken. The important Revolution in human affairs, to which
" every Chriſtian looks with anxious hope, may be yet diſtant. If
" it is, Tyranny may ſtill triumph. But God forbid it. It would
" then be better to die than to live. But though I hope the re-
" verſe, I know, as you juſtly obſerve, " *That the importance of*
" *the cauſe of Freedom is too great to the world, to expect its accom-*
" *pliſhment without oppoſition,*" and the oppoſition of deſpairing
" Tyranny will be dreadful, it will be deſtructive; and why?—
" becauſe nothing but its ruining laſt ſtruggle will rouſe man-
" kind from their idle dream of ſecurity. *They regard not, they*

" *pity*

" *pity not its preſent victims.* They put off the evil far from " themſelves, and hence it overtakes them ſuddenly, " when their " ſtrength is gone, and there is none ſhut up or left." Hold faſt " therefore what you have attained. Your aſſociation alone can " prevent the dreadful conſequence of ſuch indifference. UNITING " LOVE *is the ſtrength, as well as ſolace of mankind.* Cement " by reciprocal kind communications, *the union of hearts, of in-* " *tereſts, of meaſures,* WHICH HAVE BEEN SOLEMNLY RE- " SOLVED. By ſo doing, you will eſcape the deſtruction which " is coming on all the earth.

" Worthy Citizens, I will ſolace my mind, when drooping, " with the kind aſſurance which you have vouchſafed by your " maſterly addreſs, that I, with my brethren, have a place in " your affection and prayers; and I will believe with you, " *that* " *the day is not very diſtant, when you will again receive us* " *on Britiſh ſhores, the welcome children of a free and happy* " *people.*" When indeed it ſhall be demonſtrated, " *That our* " *enemies are the enemies of public liberty; the men who conſpired* " *againſt the happineſs of mankind.*" But though the mighty are " combined, though they ſhould ſo far prevail as to ſcatter " utterly in their vain apprehenſion the friends of truth, the " principles of it which are already eſtabliſhed, is the " ſtone " cut out without hands, and ſhall become a great mountain " and fill the whole earth," for he who firſt commanded the " light to ſhine out of darkneſs, is its almighty patron.

" Be aſſured, my dear brethren, that I have already realized " the pleaſures of conſcious integrity, and can reflect with the " ſincereſt ſatisfaction, that I was influenced in all my exertions " for the cauſe of Reform, by that benevolence which I would " ever cultivate as the principle of every kind of human ex- " cellence.

" With ſentiments of the moſt unfeigned eſteem and reſpect,

" I am,

" Your ſincere wellwiſher,

" W. SKIRVING."

" The Preſident of the London Conſtitutional Society."

" *Surprise Transport, April* 24, 1794.

" To the Members of the Society for Constitutional Information " in London.

" That the spirit of Freedom is not extinguished, but still re- " tains its former energy, in defiance of the artifices and of the " violence of Despotism, is an object of high consolation to my " mind. Engaged in the sacred cause of man, individual man is " an atom of little value; and in speaking of himself, when he " recollects and contemplates the principles of his conduct, " should disdain to make use of the term Suffering. Without a " vain affection, for myself, I disclaim the assumption of extra- " ordinary merit. The man who has acted in obedience to the " law of his own conscience, has simply discharged his duty; and " the contrary supposition would involve him in guilt. I am " deeply persuaded, that many of the men, whom I now address " in a situation less circumscribed, with abilities more powerful, " but not with hearts more honest, after having atchieved what " I could not accomplish, would with the same silent scorn have " regarded each feeble attempt to shackle and to repress the free- " born mind.

" Your preceding exertions, in attempting to procure a fair " representation of the People in Parliament have been me- " ritorious. They are a solemn and sure pledge of their future " continuation. In proportion to the number, and to the rapidity " of those tremendous scenes, which daily in succession pass be- " fore the eye; *All, All* of them deriving their existence from this " violation of our Constitutional Rights, let your ardour in pro- " curing a rectification of what is wrong be increased. Confident " you will obtain the blessing of that *Being*, whose great design is " the happiness of his creation.

" THOMAS MUIR."

" It being recommeded at a former Meeting, to the Members " of the SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, to " peruse two printed Sermons of the Rev. J. H. Williams " preached on the Public Fasts of 1793 and 1794, as productions

" O

" of ſingular worth, the ſociety came to the following unanimous " reſolution:—

" *London, April* 25, 1794.

" Reſolved, That the grateful thanks of this ſociety be paid to " the Rev. J. H. WILLIAMS, Vicar of Wells-Bourn, War- " wickſhire, for the publication of his two ineſtimable Sermons " on the Public Faſts of April 1793, and February 1794. " The doctrines and ſentiments which they contain are in " perfect uniſon with the principles of this ſociety; and we " truſt that the motives and ſprings of action which he recom- " mends, will ever be found to direct our conduct.

" By Order of the Society,

" D. ADAMS, Secretary."

" Society for Conſtitutional Information.

" *May* 2, 1794.

" This being the Anniverſary of the Society, upwards of three " hundred perſons dined together at the Crown and Anchor- " Tavern, in the Strand.

" JOHN WHARTON, M. P. in the Chair.

" STEWARDS,

" Thomas Thompſon, M. P,
" John Chatfield,
" John Bellenden Gawler,
" Robert Knight,
" George Wingfield Sparrow,
" Jeremiah Joyce,
" John Williams,
" John Pearſon,
" Arthur Blake,
" William Sharp,
" Thomas Wardle,
" Charles Goring,
" John Bonham."

" During the time of dinner, and between the toaſts, a nume- " rous band played the popular tunes of *Ca Ira*, the *Carmagnol*, " the *Marſeillois March*, the *Democrat*, and a new piece of muſic, " called the " FREE CONSTITUTION."

" After dinner the following Sentiments were given with un- " bounded applauſe:—

" 1. THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

" 2. A Free Conſtitution.

" 3. The Swine of England, the Rabble of Scotland, and the " Wretches of Ireland.

" 4. Equal Laws and Liberty.

" 5. May Deſpotiſm be trodden under the Hoofs of the " Swiniſh Multitude.

" 6. THE ARMIES CONTENDING FOR LIBERTY.

" 7. Wiſdom, Firmneſs, and Unanimity to all the Patriotic " Societies in Great Britain.

" 8. To the reign of Peace and Liberty.

" A Citizen then roſe, and in a ſhort ſpeech obſerved, that the " Stewards ſeemed to have forgotten in their liſt of toaſts, a " perſon who had done more than almoſt any man towards *the* " *Reign of Peace and Liberty*; he would, therefore, propoſe as a " toaſt " Lord Stanhope." An amendment was propoſed, that " inſtead of Lord Stanhope, Citizen Stanhope ſhould be drank, " which was received with thundering applauſe.

" 9. May the Public Revenue never be applied to the pur- " poſes of Corruption.

" 10. The Victims to the cauſe of Liberty ſuffering under " the ſentences of the Court of Juſticiary.

" 11. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and the Patriots of Ireland.

" 12. The perſecuted Patriots of England.

" 13. MAY THE ABETTORS OF THE PRESENT " WAR BE ITS VICTIMS.

" 14. The Chairman, and ſucceſs to his exertions in the " cauſe of Freedom.

" Mr. Wharton thanked the company for their marked appro- " bation of his conduct, and pledged himſelf to continue his " efforts in the cauſe of Liberty. He then ſaid he would propoſe " as a toaſt,

" 15. That ſteady Friend to Liberty, John Horne Tooke.

" Mr. Tooke ſaid, he hoped it would be the laſt time that " his health ſhould be drank. His ambition was, that hereafter " *his* MEMORY *ſhould be given.*

" 16. MAY ALL GOVERNMENTS BE THOSE OF " THE LAWS, AND ALL LAWS THOSE OF THE " PEOPLE.

" 17. Thomas Paine,

" The

" The Chairman then gave as a concluding toaſt, a Sentiment " directly in oppoſition to that of Mr. Wyndham.

" 18. Proſperity to the Commerce and Manufactures of Great " Britain."

Mr. Garrow. There follow ſeveral ſongs, which are ſtated to have been ſung at the dinner.—I do not deſire them to be read, but have not the ſmalleſt objection to their being read, if Mr. Erſkine wiſhes it.

Mr. Erſkine. I am not particularly anxious for a ſong at the preſent moment.

[*The ſongs were not read.*]

It being now paſt twelve o'clock, a converſation took place reſpecting the adjournment, in which the Jury ſtated, that they could not have the neceſſary refreſhment of ſleep in the Seſſion Houſe, having only one room, and nothing but matraſſes to lie down upon, and that they had not had their clothes off for more than forty hours. The Counſel on both ſides expreſſed their deſire, that the Jury might have every poſſible accommodation. The Court being informed, that the Jury could have beds at the Hummums, in Covent-Garden, (with the conſent of the Counſel on both ſides) directed that they ſhould go thither. Four officers were ſworn to keep the Jury; and the Jury went in coaches to the Hummums, attended by the Under-Sheriffs, and the four officers,

Adjourned till Eleven o'Clock.

SESSION

SESSION HOUSE IN THE OLD BAILEY,

Thurſday, October the 30th, 1794.

PRESENT,

Lord Chief Juſtice EYRE;
Lord Chief Baron MACDONALD;
Mr. Baron HOTHAM;
Mr. Juſtice BULLER;
Mr. Juſtice GROSE;
And others his Majeſty's Juſtices, &c.

Thomas Hardy ſet to the bar.

Mr. Attorney General. I am going to produce ſome papers found in the poſſeſſion of the priſoner ſo far back as the 30th April, 1792, by which it will appear that the priſoner, Mr. Margarot, Mr. Martin, Mr. Richter, one of the perſons named in this indictment, were at that time choſen Delegates of the Correſponding Society, and Mr. Vaughan, and one or two more of them, I think were to draw up the Conſtitution of the Society.—I ſhall produce a letter of the priſoner deſiring that conſtituton to be drawn up.

Mr. Gurnell. Theſe two papers I found in Mr. Hardy's poſſeſſion.

[*They were read.*]

"*Monday, 30th April*, 1792.

"Correſponding Society, Diviſion No. 7, held at the ſign of "the Coach and Horſes, Lincoln's Inn-Fields.

"James Sheriff in the chair.

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That Maurice Margarot be ap-"pointed our Delegate to the ſtanding Committee of the ſeveral "diviſions of the Correſponding Society.

"That ſaid Delegate ſhall continue in office during the ſpace "of three months from this day.

"That

" That theſe Reſolutions, ſigned by the Chairman, be tranſ-
" mitted to the Preſident of the Committee.

" Signed by order,

" JA^s. SHERIFF, Chairman."

Indorſed " *April* 30, 1792, *Diviſion No.* 7.
" M^ce. Margarot, *Delegate.*"

" To the Delegates of the London Correſponding Society.

" At a Meeting of the Second Branch of the aforeſaid Society,
" held at the Blue Poſts, Hay-market,
" Mr. Mc Bean in the chair,

" It was unanimouſly Reſolved,

" 1ſt. That the Precedence is to go by rotation.

" 2dly. That David Rowland was unanimouſly elected Se-
" cretary.

" 3dly. That Mr. Martin was unanimouſly elected Delegate
" for this Society, for three months from the date hereof.

" By order of the Society.

" *April* 30*th*, 1792. " D. ROWLAND, Secretary."

Indorſed " *Mr. Martin, Attorney at Law, Richmond Buildings.*
" 30*th April*, 1792.
" *Diviſion No.* 8. John Martin, *Delegate.*
" *Diviſion No.* 8, *Blue Poſts.* John Martin *Delegate.*—
" James Black, *Deputy, the* 10*th May*, 1792, *in conſe-*
" *quence of* Mr. Martin's *non-attendance.*"

Mr. Lauzun. I found theſe two papers in Mr. Hardy's houſe.

[*They were read.*]

" This

" This is to certify, that we, the Diviſion No. 16 of the " London Correſponding Society, have choſen John Baxter our " Delegate.

" EDW. JONES, Chairman.

" *Nov.* 5, 1792. " E. GRAY, Secr."

Indorſed " *Mr. Margarot.*

" *Diviſion No.* 16.—John Baxter, *Delegate.*

" *No. of Members* 31."

" *Thurſday, 8th Nov.* 1792.

" On an application being made to the Committee of Dele- " gates of the London Correſponding Society, by John Richter, " of Diviſion No. 6, for leave to inſtitute a Diviſion of this " Society in the neighbourhood of Knightſbridge, he is hereby " authorized to do ſo in the courſe of the next week, and take " the name of Diviſion No. 19 of the London Correſponding " Society.

" Signed by order,

" MCE. MARGAROT, Chairman.

" THO". HARDY, Secretary.

" This is to certify, that John Richter is appointed Delegate " from Diviſion No. 19 of the London Correſponding Society, " this firſt Meeting, at the Friend and Hand, Little North- " ſtreet, Knightſbridge, this Monday, the 26th Nov. 1792.

" JOHN RICHTER, Chairman.

" ALR. WATING, Secretary."

Indorſed " *To the Citizens delegated for the Management of the* " *Affairs of the London Correſponding Society, &c. &c.*

" *Diviſion No.* 19.

" John Richter, *Delegate.—No. of Members*, 6."

Mr. Gurnell. I found theſe papers in Mr. Hardy's houſe.

They were read.]

" *7th*

" *7th May*, 1792.

" Mr. Hardy, the bearer of this, is delegated by the Diviſion " of the London Correſponding Society that meets at the Bell, " Exeter-ſtreet, Strand; and is authorized to aſſiſt at the Com- " mittee appointed to form a conſtitutional code of laws for the " government of the Correſponding Society.

" ROBERT BOYD."

Indorſed " 30*th April*, 1792.

" *Diviſion No.* 2.---Thos. Hardy, *Delegate.*"

" *The* 30*th April*, 1792.

" Mr. Vaughan, the bearer of this, is delegated by the Diviſion " of the Correſponding Society that meets at the Bell, Exeter- " ſtreet; and is authorized to aſſiſt at the Commmittee ap- " pointed to form a conſtitutional code of laws for the govern- " ment of the Correſponding Society.

Indorſed " 30*th April*, 1792.

" *Diviſion No.* 3.---Felix Vaughan, *Delegate.*"

" SIR,

" I take the liberty of ſending you a few of our original " papers, for your peruſal this afternoon---If you ſee any thing " in them worthy of adopting, for the approbation of the Dele- " gates to-morrow evening.---Some of them are ſweet flowers; " and I hope you will be like the bee---extract a little from " each. I wiſh you (if you ſee any propriety in it) to copy " part of the preamble; that part, I mean, that mentions the " number of inhabitants in each of thoſe populous towns that " have not a ſingle voice in chuſing a member to repreſent " them.---I am ſure it would have a good effect upon the public, " and likewiſe the rotten boroughs in Cornwall; when thoſe " papers were read in our Society in its infant ſtate; (but, by " the by, it is ſcarcely out of leading-ſtrings now; but do not " let a doubt remain with us of ſucceſs) they were fired with in- " dignation at ſuch an unjuſt and unequal repreſentation; many " never heard of any ſuch thing.---If our Society were ſo af-

"fected, by the ſame way of reaſoning, tens of thouſands of the "people of this nation would be equally ſo, if they were in-"formed of the exiſtence of thoſe evils;—for ſome of them (in "my opinion) are the moſt glaring that can be exhibited to the "public.—Excuſe me for taking ſuch liberty with you.——I "remain,

"SIR,

"Your and the Society's zealous friend,

"THO'. HARDY."

"*April* 2, 1792.

"*No.* 4, *Taylor's Buildings, Chandos-ſtreet.*

"To Mr. Vaughan.

Mr. Lauzun. I found this printed paper in Mr. Hardy's houſe.

The following extracts were read from the ſaid paper, entitled the Report of the Committee of Conſtitution of the London Correſponding Society. Printed for the uſe of the Members.

"FELLOW CITIZENS,

"Knowing, from experience, that thoſe who (through the de-"praved ſtate of what ſhould be the repreſentative body) are "ſuffered to prey on the vitals of our Country, derive the "principal part of their ſucceſs, in oppoſing an equal repre-"ſentation, from the active circulation of falſehoods, reſpecting "this, and other ſimilar ſocieties; we think it adviſable, that you "ſhould give an explicit declaration of your PRINCIPLES "and WISHES, which we conceive to be as follow:

"1. That all men are by nature free, equal and independent "of each other.

"2. That, to enjoy all the advantages of civil ſociety, it is not "neceſſary that individuals ſhould relinquiſh more of their na-"tural independence than is required to fulfil this injunction. "Let the minority yield a friendly ſubmiſſion to the majority."

"3. That no majority, however great, can juſtly deprive the "minority of any part of their civil rights:---wherever it is at-"tempted, the ſocial bond is broken, and the minority have "a right to reſiſt.

"4. The

" 4. The civil rights of every individual are equality of voice
" in the making of laws, and in the choice of perſons by whom
" thoſe laws are to be adminiſtered.---Equality before the law,
" whether in claiming its protection, or ſubmitting to its ſentence.
" Freedom to publiſh his opinion, to exerciſe his religious wor-
" ſhip without moleſtation or reſtriction, and to enjoy his pro-
" perty, ſubject only to ſuch contributions as may be impartially
" levied for the public ſervice.

" 5. Submiſſion to any meaſure does not imply ſilence as to
" the propriety or impropriety thereof.

" 6. Every power entruſted to a magiſtrate, implies a re-
" ſponſibility for the exerciſe of that power.

" 7. The foregoing are not new, but are the original prin-
" ciples of Engliſh government.

" 8. The total departure from the principle of equality in the
" election of the legiſlative body, commonly called the Houſe of
" Commons, is the chief cauſe why the people of Britain are
" now deprived of the benefit of the foregoing principles; and
" in place thereof, labour under a continued ſyſtem of extortion
" and monopoly.

" 9. *The Corn act*—is a grievance immediately reſulting from
" the reſtriction of the choice of repreſentatives, to men of landed
" property; by it the price of bread in general is doubled, and
" ſometimes much more than doubled; for whenever this country
" happens to be bleſſed with an abundant ſeaſon, a part of the
" taxes under which we groan, is applied to encourage the ex-
" portation, and advance the price of corn. Thus we pay one
" tax to government, to give the landed man an opportunity of
" laying on another. The hackneyed pretence for this act
" is, " the welfare of the farmer." The real intention of it is, to
" enable the monopolizers of farms, to pay enormous rents.

" 10. *Game laws*—though too evidently calculated to diſarm
" the nation, may in general be attributed to the ſame reſtriction:—
" by them, even the Farmer, on whoſe property the game is fed,
" is robbed of every conſtitutional right of a Briton, and ſub-
" jected to the brutality of a Baſhaw in the form of a country
" juſtice, from whom there is no appeal.

" 11.

"11. *Exciſe laws—and ſtamp duties* (and the conſequent ſyſtem "of ſpies and informers) equally repugnant to the profeſſed "principles of the conſtitution, and moſt extenſive in their op- "preſſion; are often introduced merely as engines of corporation "influence; for in ſome inſtances, the produce of the tax does "not pay the expence of collection; were the ſenſe of the na- "tion fairly taken, it is impoſſible to believe but that whatever "ſum might be neceſſary for the public ſervice, it would be "raiſed by means leſs obnoxious and leſs expenſive.

"12. *The mutiny act*---which would never have exiſted, had "not the bulk of the people been excluded from repreſentation. "It reflects a charge of hypocriſy on thoſe who affect to bewail "the late events in France, yet calmly view the defenders of "their own country, ſubjected to every ſpecies of fraud, inſult "and cruelty. The military excellence of true republicans, in "all ages, proves it to be unneceſſary. Convince a Briton, that "he is about to fight for a country, in which his rights are duly "conſulted, and the cat of nine-tails may be burnt by the hands "of the common hangman.

"13. *The impreſs ſervice*---equally cruel with the foregoing, is "another effect of partial repreſentation: it has lately been "proved that the expence of this ſervice, if applied to encreaſe "the ſeamen's pay, would render impreſſing unneceſſary; but it "is more conſiſtent with the government of a faction, to diſtri- "bute the ſum among the officers of corporations.

"14. The ill effects of partial repreſentation are not confined "to men in private ſtations; we challenge contradiction when we "aſſert that, in general, promotion, whether in the Army, Navy, "or Church, is the effect of parliamentary connection, and the "reward of parliamentary proſtitution.

"15. We cannot entertain a doubt that the foregoing ſtate- "ment of grievances will be admitted as juſt by our country- "men at large, and alſo that an equal repreſentation, by uni- "verſal and annual ſuffrage, would tend immediately to redreſs "them. It remains to prove that the difficulties ſaid to attend "ſuch a ſcheme are merely the chimerical inventions of in- "tereſted men.

" 16. Let us ſuppoſe all partial corporations, (thoſe badges of " ſlavery) aboliſhed; and conſider the whole iſland as one cor- " poration, divided into counties or cities, for the purpoſes of " embodying and exerciſing militia, &c. and for electing repre- " ſentatives, ſubdivided into diſtricts, or townſhips, as nearly as " convenient, in equal proportion to the number of inhabitants.

" 17. Allow to each diſtrict, or townſhip, one repreſentative, " and let it be ſubdivided into pariſhes, and every man entitled " to a vote, be regiſtered in the pariſh in which he reſides. " Large pariſhes may be ſubdivided into wards, or hamlets.

" 18. Let every voter give his vote in the pariſh in which he " reſides; let the votes be brought in writing, and called for in " ſucceſſion, either alphabetically, by the name of the voters, or " numerically by the wards and numbers of houſes;—either of " theſe methods would prevent that ſource of riot, the practice " of voting in party groups.

" 19. The truth of entry of every individual vote in each " pariſh would eaſily be examined, and the totals of the ſeveral " pariſhes in each diſtrict ſo eaſily collected, that we ſcruple " not to aſſert, a general Election might be decided, with in- " diſputable certainty, in twelve hours.

" 20. In ſaying the whole iſland ſhould be conſidered as one " corporation, we do not wiſh to be underſtood as recommending " that diſtricts ſhould chuſe their repreſentatives from diſtant " parts. On the contrary, we think the repreſentative ſhould " always be a reſident of the diſtrict, as his character would be " better known to his conſtituents. Hearſay characters are ſel- " dom any other than the blazonings of faction.

" 21. It is indiſpenſible to good government, that repre- " ſentatives ſhould be paid for their ſervice to the public. The " want of open and honourable reward, retards the exertion of " laudable characters, and ſubjects the nation to the fraudulent " and deluſive practices of mock patriots.

" 22. To thoſe who are convinced of the propriety of the " foregoing ideas, and only aſk, how ſhall we attain the practice " of them? we anſwer, *Aſſociate*. By ſo doing, you will better " correct and ſtrengthen each other's opinions on the ſubject of " liberty,

" liberty, and eventually abaſh the tools of corrupt influence and " lawleſs power---Effects which are not to be expected from the " vague and deſultory exertion of individual opinions.

" Having thus ſtated what we conceive to be the ſentiments of " the Society, we recommend that the members ſhall meet " in diviſions, conſiſting as nearly as convenient of thirty mem- " bers each, and that the management of its affairs be veſted " in one COMMITTEE OF DELEGATES, one SE- " LECT COMMITTEE, and one COUNCIL, ſubject " to REFERENCE TO THE DIVISIONS and TRIAL " BY JURY, as more particularly defined in the following " ſections.

" *SECTION I. Form of Admiſſion and Duty of a Member.*

" 1. Each Candidate for admiſſion into this Society ſhall be " propoſed by a member, who ſhall either belong to the diviſion " in which the propoſal is made, or be perſonally known as a " member of this ſociety, to two members of ſuch diviſion.

" 2. The Secretary ſhall enter the name, reſidence and occu- " pation of the Candidate, together with the propoſer's name, " and number, in the minute book of the diviſion, and the Pre- " ſident ſhall put the following queſtion to the propoſer :

" *Are you well acquainted with the Candidate you propoſe, with his means of life, and his political principles, and are you well aſſured that his general character is ſuch as will not be diſgrace- ful to this Society?*

" 3. If the propoſer ſhall anſwer the foregoing queſtion in the " affirmative, the preſident ſhall demand of the Diviſion, whether " any member has any objection to the candidate.

" 4. If no objection ſatisfactory to the Diviſion ſhall be made, " the Preſident ſhall put the following queſtions to the Can- " didate :

" *Are you convinced that every man who has attained to years of diſcretion, is in poſſeſſion of his reaſon, and not diſqualified by crimes, ought to have a vote for a Repreſentative, and not more than one vote?*

" *Are*

" *Are you convinced that the repreſentation ought to be divided*
" *as nearly as poſſible in proportion to the number of electors?*

" *Are you convinced that the election of Repreſentatives of the*
" *People ought to be Annual?*

" *Will you, by all juſtifiable means, endeavour to promote a Re-*
" *form in the Parliament of this country, agreeable to the prin-*
" *ciples which you have now profeſſed?*

" 6. No member ſhall be allowed to ſtile himſelf, or any other,
" by any party name, whether intended to convey reſpect or diſ-
" reſpect.

" 7. All political appellations which do not in their immediate
" interpretation convey an idea of political ſentiment or ſituation,
" are party names. The following do not fall under this ob-
" jection, as will appear by their explanations:

" *Republican*,---One who wiſhes to promote the general wel-
" fare of his country.

" *Democrat*,---A ſupporter of the rights and power of the
" people.

" *Ariſtocrat*,---One who wiſhes to promote the intereſt of a
" few at the expence of many.

" *Royaliſt*,---Among the ignorant part of mankind, ſignifies,
" a perſon attached to regal government: among artful courtiers,
" it is a veil for their own ariſtocracy.

" *Loyaliſt*,---A ſupporter of the conſtitution of his country.

" *Citizen*,---The ancient appellation given to the members of
" free States.

" *Subject*,---can only with propriety be applied to a member of
" a State, whoſe government has been inſtituted by foreign con-
" queſt, or the prevalence of a domeſtic faction.

" *SECTION II. The Organization and Power of a Diviſion.*

" 1. Each Diviſion ſhall meet once in a week, on any evening
" in the week, except Thurſday and Sunday.

" 2. The hour and place of meeting ſhall be at the convenience
" of each diviſion, but muſt be announced to the conſtituted
" bodies.

" 3. Each

" 3. Each Diviſion ſhall elect from its own members, a Preſi-
" dent, Vice-preſident, Secretary, Aſſiſtant Secretary, Delegate
" and Sub-delegate.

" 4. Each Diviſion ſhall be furniſhed with three books, (viz.)
" one to bear the number of the Diviſion,—A ſimilar book, to
" be called the Supernumerary book of the ſame diviſion,—and
" a third for entering minutes.

" 5. No Diviſion book ſhall contain more than 30 effective
" names:—ſubject to variation as hereafter mentioned.

" 6. Members admitted after the Diviſion ſhall amount to 30,
" ſhall be entered in the Supernumerary-book—but not before.

" 7. As ſoon as the members entered in the Supernumerary-
" book, ſhall amount to 16, they ſhall be entitled to a number as
" a new Diviſion: They ſhall determine the time and place of
" their future meeting; they ſhall receive a Supernumerary-
" book, and a minute-book, and a new ſupernumerary-book ſhall
" be delivered to the original Diviſion.

" 8. Members entered in any Supernumerary-book while leſs
" than 16, ſhall be entitled to vote, and, in every reſpect be con-
" ſidered as members of the Diviſion to which ſuch Super-
" numerary-book ſhall belong.

" 9. No new member ſhall have a vote the ſame ſitting, in
" which he is admitted; nor transferred member the ſame ſitting
" in which he is transferred.

" 10. Each Diviſion ſhall be allowed one ſhilling and ſix-
" pence per week for rent, furniture, &c.

" 11. Every member ſhall have liberty to introduce one
" ſtranger, provided ſuch member ſhall anſwer that the ſentiments
" of the ſtranger are ſimilar to ours, and the ſame ſtranger ſhall
" not be introduced more than twice, except for the purpoſe of
" admiſſion as a member.

" 23. In caſe of perſecution, and that the means provided by
" the VIIth, VIIIth, and IXth, Sections of this Conſtitution,
" ſhould not produce the effect of re-eſtabliſhing a repreſentative
" body of this Society for two weeks ſucceſſively, every diviſion
" ſhall have power to elect four perſons, whoſe powers ſhall

" be

" be the ſame as the four officers of the Committee of De-
" legates.

" 24. The ſole object of thoſe four perſons, ſhall be the re-
" eſtabliſhment of the Repreſentative Body, and they ſhall report
" progreſs weekly, and be weekly ſubject to revocation.

Mr. Attorney General. It then goes on to ſtate the mode of election; the duty of the Preſident and Vice-Preſident; of the Secretary and Aſſiſtant-Secretary; the Delegates and Sub-Delegates. It then ſtates the Committee of Delegates. Read the firſt four articles of that ſection, and the 14th and 21ſt.

" *SECTION VII—the Committee of Delegates.*

" 1. The Committee of Delegates is the repreſentative and
" legiſlative body of this ſociety.

" 2. Their duty is indiviſible, and the repreſentation ſhall not
" be impaired by any appointment, either of themſelves, collec-
" tively, or of any other conſtituted body, which may ſubject the
" members thereof to be abſent from their meeting, or to be
" parties concerned in any ſubject under their diſcuſſion.

" 3. Not leſs than Three-fourths of their whole number ſhall
" be a quorum, except in caſe of perſecution.

" 4. There ſhall be no diſparity or diſſimilitude between the
" members, by offices of Preſidency, or Secretaryſhip.

" 14. The duty of the Committee of Delegates is to direct
" the conduct of the executive powers in all matters which do
" not require ſecrecy or expedition.

" 21. If the executive powers, for the purpoſe of obtaining
" their approbation, ſhall communicate any thing which a ma-
" jority of the Delegates ſhall approve as neceſſary to be
" ſecretly done; the whole Committee of Delegates are bound
" to ſecrecy.

" *SECTION VIII—the Select Committee.*

" 8. No member of this Committee ſhall be admitted until
" he has anſwered in the affirmative, the following queſtion,

" which

" which shall be put by the officers of the Committee of De-
" legates:

" *Do you promise, that you will not relinquish the station which*
" *you are about to take in this Society, on account of any persecution*
" *which may be brought on it. That you will persevere in*
" *meeting the Select Committee, and to the utmost of your power,*
" *encourage every other member of this Society, to fulfil the duty*
" *of his respective station?*

" *THEIR OFFICE IS,*

" 1. Preparatory as they may be directed, either collectively
" partially, or individually, by the Committee of Delegates, or
" the council.

" 2. Referential as to any matter adopted by the Committee
" of Delegates, or the Council, or by both, which they may
" judge improper.

" 3. All intended publications of this society shall, previous
" to being printed, undergo their collective examination.

" 4. One-third of their whole number shall be a quorum.

" *SECTION IX—the Council.*

" 1. Shall be composed of one Treasurer, one principal Se-
" cretary, and not less than four Assistant Secretaries.

" 6. The principal Secretary shall record all Laws which shall
" be made by this Society, which shall be printed annually.

" 13. Every member of the council shall be really acquainted
" with every transaction of this society, however secret.

" 14. Each member of the council shall have a complete list
" of the members of every division of this society, with their
" residences, which list he shall deposit to the best of his judg-
" ment, in a place of safety.

" *SECTION XI.—Of Accusation and Trial.*

" 1. If any member shall think another unworthy of being a
" member of this society, or that he has acted in any degree im-
" properly, he shall offer his accusation in writing, signed by him-
" self, in the Division of which the accused is a member.

 " 2. Every

" 2. Every accuſation ſhall ſtate the law on which it is " grounded.

" 3. If the deciſion of the diviſion ſhall be in favor of the " accuſed, the trial ſhall go no farther; if not, the accuſer ſhall " give a ſtatement of the caſe, in writing, to the Delegate of his " own diviſion, to be laid before the committee of Delegates.

" 4. No vote or reſolution, touching any matter of accuſation, " ſhall paſs in any diviſion, except that of the accuſed, (as men- " tioned in the laſt Article) nor in any of the conſtituted " Bodies.

" 5. The Delegates having received the caſe, ſhall elect four " perſons, not of their own body, nor of the diviſion, or diviſions " concerned, to act as Preſident, Secretary, Vice-Preſident, and " Aſſiſtant-Secretary in the enſuing trial.

" 6. They ſhall alſo iſſue notices to each diviſion, except " thoſe of which the accuſer or accuſed are members; men- " tioning the time and place of trial, and the four perſons whom " they have appointed to ſuperintend it, and requiring each of " them, to return one Juryman.

" 7. Each diviſion ſhall return, of its own members, one Jury- " man, by lot; but none of the four perſons appointed to ſuper- " intend the trial, nor any member of any conſtituted body, " ſhall be returnable.

" 8. Every Juryman ſo drawn, and failing to attend at the " appointed time, ſhall forfeit two ſhillings and ſixpence, except " in caſe of ſickneſs; as ſhall alſo each ſuperintendant.

" 9. The ſuperintendants ſhall, by lot, take twelve names out " of the whole number preſent, who ſhall be the jury for that " trial, unleſs the accuſed object, which he may do to four of " them, but not more.

" 10. The accuſer and accuſed ſhall each be allowed one " Aſſiſtant, at their own choice.

" 11. The Preſident ſhall read the accuſation, and call on the " accuſer to produce his evidence.

" 12. The evidence on the part of the accuſer being cloſed, " the accuſed may call his evidence.

" 13. During

" 13. During the time each witneſs is giving his evidence, " he may be croſs examined by the Jury, the Preſident, the " Accuſed, the Accuſer, or either of their Aſſiſtants.

" 14. The evidence being cloſed, the Accuſed and his Aſſiſtant " ſhall be allowed to comment on it, and make his defence; but " the croſs examination ſhall be deemed ſufficient on the part of " the accuſer.

" 15. If the Preſident ſhall think proper, he may recapitulate " the principal points of the evidence, and comment on them.

" 16. The Jury ſhall give their verdict in writing, ſigned by " all their names.

" 17. If the Jury ſhall not within two hours agree, that the " Accuſed is guilty, he ſhall be acquitted.

" 18. The iſſue of the trial ſhall be reported to the Committee " of Delegates, and by them to the diviſions.

Jane Rickman (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. You are the wife of Thomas Clio Rickman?

A. I am.

Q. What trade is your huſband?

A. A bookſeller,

Q. Look at thoſe books, and ſee who they appear to be printed by. [*Shewing the witneſs a copy of the large and of the ſmall edition of the Second Part of the Rights of Man, and the Letter to the Addreſſers.*]

A. They are printed for my huſband.

Q. Do you know Mr. Thomas Paine?

A. Yes.

Q. During the time that thoſe books were printing, where did Mr. Paine lodge?

A. I believe he was gone out of England when they were printed.---I fancy ſo,

Q. Did he ever lodge, at any time, at your huſband's?

A. Yes.

Q. About what time was it he lodged at your huſband's?

A. From

A. From June to September, 1792.

Q. Did you ever ſee any of the ſheets of that work while the printing was going on?

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Where did you ſee them?

A. At our houſe.

Q. Your huſband printed them?

A. No---he does not print.

Q. They were brought to your houſe as they were printed off?

A. I cannot ſay I ſaw them printing, if that is the queſtion.

Q. The queſtion is, did you ſee thoſe ſheets brought to your huſband's houſe in the progreſs of the printing?

A. Yes, proof-ſheets I have.

Q. Were they brought to your huſband's houſe at the time Mr. Paine was in England?

A. They were.

Q. You ſee there are two editions; one a large, and the other a ſmaller edition?

A. Yes.

Q. Of thoſe works, perhaps, a profit was made?

A. There was to have been; but I never had any profit: Mr. Paine told me that he had told Mr. Johnſon we were to receive the profit.

Q. The profit of one, or both?

A. The ſmall one.

Q. Who was to receive the profit of the larger edition?

A. Mr. Paine himſelf.---He told me the profit of the ſmall one was to be divided between Mr. Symonds and my huſband?

Q. Did Mr. Paine come to your houſe at the time of the printing, and had you any converſation with him about it?

A. He lodged at my houſe at the time.---The ſmall edition was publiſhed after he left England; the large one, I believe, did not make its appearance; but ſome of the proof-ſheets I had ſeen before he went away; but it was not publiſhed before he left England.

Jane Rickman croſs-examined by *Mr. Erſkine.*

Q. Do you mean to ſwear that theſe are two of the very books that were printed for Symonds and your huſband?

A. To the beſt of my knowledge.

Q. Can you take upon you to ſwear that theſe are part of the copies actually printed for him, or may they not have been printed by ſomebody elſe, and be extremely like them?---You have never read the book through, ſo as to be able to ſay that it is the ſame---You only ſee that this is entitled "A Letter addreſſed "to the Addreſſers;" but there may be news in it, for any thing you know?

A. I know nothing about what it contains.

Q. Nor do you know it by the type, the paper, or any thing about it?

A. I never ſaw it till it was in that ſtate.---This pamphlet has my hand-writing upon it.

Mr. Attorney General. From whom had you theſe books?

A. They were ſent to me from, I ſuppoſe, Mr. Johnſon.

Mr. Erſkine. I ſubmit to your Lordſhip, that this evidence is not ſufficient to entitle them to read theſe pamphlets. I require, and I aſk no more, that whenever it relates to this Society or that —no matter what bearing it may have upon the iſſue of the cauſe, that they ſhould be fixed by the ſame evidence as would be neceſſary if they were tried for the publication of a Libel.---I am ſure the Attorney General will not propoſe to have a looſer proof in the caſe of High Treaſon, than in a miſdemeanor.

Mr. Attorney General. I have given no evidence yet, that I mean to give looſe proof in this cauſe; but I by no means admit the propoſition to the extent in which Mr. Erſkine ſtates it.

Thomas Clio Rickman (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. Look at theſe two books---Did you publiſh one or both of them?

A. They were printed with my name.

Q. With your knowledge?

A. No---without my knowledge.

Q. How came they, do you know, to be printed with your name---Did you know it at the time?

A. I

A. I never did know it, till I was written to, that that was the caſe---I was then in the country.

Q. At what time did you learn that theſe books were printed in your name?

A. I think it muſt be early in September, 1792.

Q. When you found that they were printed with your name, did you make any application to any body to know why they were printed with your name?

A. I did go to Mr. Johnſon about that.

Q. Who were to have the profit of thoſe books?

A. That I never knew but what I heard from my wife.

Q. Thomas Paine, we underſtand, lodged at your houſe?

A. He did.

Q. Did you ever ſee any of the ſheets of thoſe works while the printing was going on?

A. No, not as the printing was going on.

Q. Were any proof-ſheets, before the work was printed, brought to you?

A. Never.

Q. Look at them, and tell us, whether either of them were the books that you printed?

A. I did not print the books at all.

Q. Did you publiſh them?

A. My name was put to them.

Q. Did you ever ſell any of them?

A. Yes, many.

Q. When did you ſell any of thoſe books?

Mr. Gibbs. Do you think that is evidence?---I do not mean to moot the queſtion.

Mr. Bower. Whoſe hand-writing is it upon that copy?

A. My wife's hand-writing, I believe.

Mr. Attorney General. In the courſe of your buſineſs, did you ever know of any other book entitled "An Addreſs to the Addreſſers?"

Mr. Erſkine. I am ſure this evidence is very imperfect---no man could be fined five pounds upon ſuch evidence.

A. I never ſaw any book of that title but this.

Mr.

Mr. Attorney-General. Are you a member of the Conſtitutional Society?

A. I was.

Mr. Erſkine. Do you mean to take upon you to ſwear that theſe are two of the identical books that were ſent to you for ſale?

A. I do not.

Mr. Erſkine. They may be exactly like them, or part like them, and yet be printed by others—Is there any thing in the paper, or the type, that can enable you to ſwear to them?

A. No. I know nothing about printing.

Mr. Attorney-General. I ſhould like to know how you could prove Locke's Eſſay upon Human Underſtanding otherwiſe: Is that the book you ſold at your ſhop as an Addreſs to the Addreſſers, when ſuch a book was aſked for?

A. It was ſuch a kind of book as this.

Q. Look at the matter of the book?

Mr. Erſkine. Will your Lordſhip allow a man to look at a book to which he cannot ſwear, in order to prove that that is the identical book?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. It is not likely that he ſhould have knowledge enough of the work to be able to anſwer the queſtion; but if he could ſatisfy us that he knew that this book contained the identical words that were in the books that were commonly publiſhed under that title, to this purpoſe perhaps it might be evidence.

Mr. Erſkine. Not having the original book here, could he be permitted to ſay, I do not bring the original book but I bring a copy?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. If we could be ſure it was an exact copy of the ſame book it would be the ſame as the original; they are all copies.

Mr. Attorney General. Suppoſe the Conſtitutional Society referred to Locke's Eſſay upon the Human Underſtanding, how is it poſſible to identify that book without calling the bookſeller to prove that that is the book which he ſells for Lock's Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding.

Lord

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. As that would refer merely to the contents of the book, it would be very good evidence of the contents.

Mr. Attorney-General. This is what I am aſking to.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You certainly are, but whether he goes to the length of that is the queſtion.

Mr. Attorney-General. Is that the book you would have ſold as the Addreſs to the Addreſſers, by Thomas Paine?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. But did he ever read it?

Mr. Attorney-General. I would not aſk the queſtion, unleſs I was very well apprized, according to my information, of what knowledge this witneſs has of it.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Go on in your own courſe.

Mr. Attorney-General. Do you know the contents of it?

A. I have read the book.

Q. Look and ſee, whether by the contents of it that is the book you would ſell as the Addreſs to the Addreſſers, by Thomas Paine, if you had been aſked by a cuſtomer for Paine's Addreſs to the Addreſſers, without any explanation?

A. I ſhould certainly ſell this book as the Letter to the Addreſſers, becauſe it is ſo entitled.

Q. Look at the contents of it: I will have an anſwer to this if I make you read it through?

A. I have certainly read the Letter to the Addreſſers.

Q. Look at the contents of the book in your hand, and ſee if the contents are the ſame as the Letter to the Addreſſers which you read?

A. I have no doubt of its being the ſame.

Q. Is it not from the contents that you have no doubt?

A. No, I confeſs it is from the complexion of the book itſelf.

Q. You have been told to look at the contents; now look at the contents.

A. I have looked at them.

Q. Then have you any doubt that that is the Letter to the Addreſſers?

A. Certainly, I have no doubt.

Thomas

Thomas Clio Rickman—Croſs-examined by Mr. Erſkine.

Q. Is the reaſon why you have no doubt from the general appearance of the book, or have you no doubt becauſe you have ſatisfied your underſtanding, by comparing that book with the recollection you have of the former, having a perfect recollection of every ſentence in the former?

A. Not of every ſentence.

Q. Then could you take upon you to ſwear, that it is exactly the ſame, word by word, and letter by letter?

A. I have not ſworn that.

Mr. Attorney-General. Have you any doubt that it is the ſame?

A. I have not.

Mr. Attorney-General. Put it into the hands of Mrs. Rickman. Did not you put them in the ſhop, and mark them as books to be ſold?

Mrs. Rickman. I put my name on them.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. When?

A. On giving them to Mr. White.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. In your ſhop?

A. No.

Mr. Attorney-General. You had them in your ſhop as books to ſell?

A. I had.

Mr. Erſkine. I underſtand the Court to be of opinion (indeed I am not at all diſpoſed to argue it) that this book muſt be taken, at preſent, to be the Letter addreſſed to the Addreſſers, upon the Proclamation, by Thomas Paine. What I wiſh to know, is, how it is propoſed to make this taking it to be the book it is alledged to be, evidence in this cauſe. I perfectly underſtand why the Rights of Man were ſtated to be ſo, becauſe thoſe whom this proſecution propoſes to implicate in certain acts—the Correſponding Society, having come to a reſolution to circulate it, therefore it was fair evidence.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You had better hear how they propoſe to make it evidence.

Mr. Erſkine. I underſtand that there is no evidence yet before the

the Court of any reſolution of either of the ſocieties to circulate this book, or to recommend it to reading.

Mr. Attorney-General. Your Lordſhip will give me leave to obſerve, that Mr. Paine has been proved to be the author of the firſt part of the Rights of Man; the ſecond part of the Rights of Man—the Letter to the French Nation; and I believe (though I am not accurate about that, becauſe I was not in Court yeſterday morning) a Letter to Mr. Dundas.—Mr. Paine is proved to be alſo a member of the Conſtitutional Society; Mr. Rickman, the witneſs, the perſon in whoſe hands this work was, in order to be ſold, is alſo proved to be a member of the Conſtitutional Society. Now, under theſe circumſtances, I ſubmit to the Court, that Mr. Paine and Mr. Rickman being both of them members of the Conſtitutional Society, what one writes for publication, and the other publiſhes, is evidence after what has been already ſtated.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I cannot imagine myſelf, that thoſe facts, which are ſo perfectly diſtinct from the particular ſubject of this indictment, can poſſibly implicate them ſo as to make their publications evidence in this cauſe.

Mr. Attorney-General. Then we will make it evidence in a moment, becauſe I ſhall now produce to your Lordſhips a reſolution in the book of the Society, for printing part of this in the Argus, and then I ſhall read that part which is printed in the Argus.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You might read the whole, and then prove a reſolution of the ſociety for printing a part, becauſe that proves them cognizant of it, having ſelected a part.

Mr. Erſkine. It may ſhew a knowledge, but does not ſhew an approbation?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Certainly not.

Mr. Attorney General. I will not trouble your Lordſhip with this any farther.

Mr. Gurnell. I found theſe papers in Mr. Hardy's houſe.

They were read.

"FELLOW CITIZEN,

"The bare-faced ariſtocracy of the preſent adminiſtration, has "made it neceſſary that we ſhould be prepared to act on the de-

"fenſive

fenſive againſt any attack they may command their newly-armed minions to make upon us.—A plan has been hit upon, and if encouraged ſufficiently, will, no doubt, have the effect of furniſhing a quantity of pikes to the patriots great enough to make them formidable. The blades are made of ſteel, tempered and poliſhed after an approved form. They may be fixed into any ſhafts (but *fir* ones are recommended) of the girt of the accompanying hoops at the top end, and about an inch more at the bottom.

" The blades and hoops (more than which cannot properly be ſent to any great diſtance) will be charged one ſhilling. Money to be ſent with the orders.

" As the inſtitution is in its infancy, immediate encouragement is neceſſary.

" *Orders may be ſent to the ſecretary of the Sheffield Conſtitutional Society.* [*Struck out.*]

" *Sheffield, April* " RICHARD DAVISON.

" 24, 1794.

" To prevent poſt ſuſpicion, direct to Mr. Robert Moody, " Joiner, Cheney-ſquare, Sheffield. Pleaſe to forward the in- " cloſed."

Addreſſed, " *Citizen Hardy, No.* 9, *Piccadilly, London.*"

The following Letter was incloſed in the laſt.

" Fellow Citizen,

" The bare-faced ariſtocracy of the preſent adminiſtration, " has made it neceſſary to prepare to act upon the defenſive, in " caſe of any attack upon the patriots: a plan has been formed " for carrying into effect this neceſſary buſineſs.—Pike blades " are made, with hoops for the ſhafts to fit the top ends: the " bottom ends of the ſhafts ſhould be about an inch thicker, and " *fir* is recommended for the ſhafts, ſelected by perſons who are " judges of wood. The blades and hoops will be ſold at the rate " of one ſhilling, properly tempered and poliſhed. The money " ſent with the orders.

" RICHARD DAVISON.

" Direct to Mr. Robert Moody, Joiner, Cheney-ſquare, Shef-
" field, to prevent the poſt-maſter's ſuſpicion.
Addreſſed.—" *To the Secretary of the*
" *Norwich Patriotic Society.*"

Mr. Attorney General. We will now prove that there was a perſon of the name of William Camage connected with the Sheffield Conſtitutional Society; and that thoſe letters are of his hand writing.

William Cammage (ſworn).

Examined by *Mr. Law.*

Q. Was you a member of a Society for Conſtitutional Information, at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you firſt begin to be ſuch member?

A. About the latter end of the year 1791.

Q. Did you ever act as ſecretary to that ſociety?

A. Yes.

Q. For how long?

A. I cannot exactly tell the time; perhaps near five or ſix months.

Q. When did you ceaſe to act in that capacity?

A. About the latter end of April or May of the laſt year.

Q. Did you in that character write letters for the ſociety?

A. I did not—I uſed to ſign the letters.

Q. By whom was the buſineſs of that ſociety managed?

A. I cannot ſpeak poſitively; by different perſons.

Q. Did they form a committee? or in what other manner did they conduct the buſineſs of the ſociety?

A. Yes, there was a committee.

Q. Who were the leading perſons of that committee?

A. One David Martin uſed to attend that committee, John Alcock, George Widdiſon, Matthew Lodwin.

Mr. Attorney General. It will be neceſſary to call the attention of the court and the jury to the names, to ſee how many of the peop

people here named were of that number of twelve, that were aſſociated into the Conſtitutional Society about the beginning of May 1792?

Mr. Law. In the converſations amongſt the members of that ſociety, what was the profeſſed object at the time when you firſt became a member?

A. A parliamentary reform.

Q. Did that continue to be their profeſſed object? or did they profeſs any other, and what object, towards the latter part of the time of your continuance with that ſociety?

A. That continued to be their object during my ſecretary-ſhip.

Q. Did you continue to communicate with that ſociety as a member of it ſince you ceaſed to be ſecretary?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the profeſſed object ſubſequent to that time, after you ceaſed to be ſecretary, and continued to communicate with them as a member?

A. I cannot ſpeak properly to that; there will be another ſecretary examined, that can ſpeak more properly to it than I can.

Q. Do you remember the ſociety at Sheffield chooſing any perſon to be their delegate to the Scotch Convention?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was the perſon choſen?

A. Matthew Campbell Brown.

Q. Do you know whether Brown went upon that delegation?

A. I believe he did.

Q. Do you know whether he was ever taken into cuſtody?

A. I believe he was.

Q. Did you go down to him at the time he was in cuſtody?

A. He was at large when I went to him. I was ſent down to him at Edinburgh by the ſociety.

Q. What was you ſent to him for?

A. To carry him a ſupply of caſh.

Q. Did you ſo?

A. I did.

Q. What ſum of money

A. I took him, I believe, to the amount of ten pounds from Sheffield; and I called at Leeds, and took him near the ſame ſum from Leeds.

Q. Did you carry him money from any other ſocieties?

A. I did not.

Q. Do you know how the money you ſo carried him was collected?

A. I cannot tell.

One of the Jury. Did you go to Scotland with this money?

A. Yes.

Mr. Law. Did you ſee him at Edinburgh?

A. I did.

Q. How were your own expences defrayed?

A. At the expence of the ſociety.

Q. Who did you receive the money immediately from?

A. I believe I received it from the hands of Mr. Gale.

Q. Who is he?

A. A printer at Sheffield.

Q. Was he a member of the Conſtitutional Society there?

A. I believe he was.

Q. Do you remember any perſon of the name of Yorke or Redhead becoming a member of that ſociety, before you gave up your place as ſecretary?

A. I knew one Henry Yorke.

Q. Have you ever known him by any other name?

A. No.

Q. Do you know where Gale, the printer, is now?

A. I do not know any thing concerning where he is.

Q. Has he ceaſed to be ſeen at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. You know a perſon of the name of Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you known him before or ſince by any other name?

A. No, never.

Q. He attended the meeting of this Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Since

Q. Since the time that he became a member of the Society at Sheffield, did he attend the meetings pretty regularly?

A. No he did not.

Q. Did he take any active part in the proceedings of the meetings when he did attend?

A. He uſed to exhort ſometimes in the meetings when he did tend.

Q. Do you recollect the ſubject of his exhortations?

A. No, they were too complicated for me at preſent to recollect.

Q. Did you ever hear him mention the ſubject of arms?

A. No never in public.

Q. What were the means that he recommended to the ſociety carry into effect the objects they profeſſed to be deſirous of atning?

A. A Parliamentary Reform.

Q. What were the means to be uſed?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. How was that to be brought about?

A. By petitioning Parliament firſt, that was his exhortation.

Mr. Law. What was the next meaſure, ſuppoſing their Petin rejected; what was then to be done?

A. I never heard any ſpecific plan pointed out by him.

Q. No ſpecific plan?

A. No, no plan pointed out by him.

Q. You ſaid he did not in public adviſe the uſe of arms; what ve you heard him adviſe upon that ſubject in private?

Mr. Erſkine. What he adviſed in private!

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. If he is proved to have been at any the Correſponding Societies meetings.

Mr. Erſkine. But what a man ſays in private!

Mr. Attorney General. He was a member of the Correſponding ciety, a Delegate from the Conſtitutional Society?

Mr. Erſkine. My idea is this, what an agent might ſay in a arate caſe in private—

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. He is not an agent, but a party.

Mr. Law. The time I am enquiring about, was when he was Sheffield. Have you heard him in private recommend the uſe arms?

A. The ſociety was threatened to be diſperſed in their meetings by the People of Sheffield, by the oppoſite party.

Q. Upon that threat of diſperſion what did he adviſe?

A. In private, the people thought it neceſſary that they ſhould have arms for their defence, and he approved of it—he did not ſee any harm in the buſineſs, but they had a right to be armed for their own defence.

Q. Againſt what?

A. Againſt any illegal attack from that party.

Q. Who were the people that thought it neceſſary to have arms?

A. The friends of reform, to protect their meetings.

Q. The Conſtitutional Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Who did you hear, what member of the Conſtitution Society, expreſs ſuch an idea?

A. It was a general idea amongſt a great many, whom I cannot name at preſent.

Q. And Yorke you ſay approved of that idea?

A. He did.

Q. Did you ever hear him mention any particular ſort of arms as diſtinguiſhed from arms in general?

A. No—not at the firſt.

Q. Did you never hear him recommend any particular ſpecies of arms to be uſed for this purpoſe?

A. He was ſhown the blade of a pike which he approved of.

Q. By whom was he ſhown that blade?

A. By me, and Henry Hill.

Q. Who is Henry Hill?

A. He is here as a witneſs.

Q. What is his way of life?

A. A ſhoe maker's knife-forger.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. By whom was that pike made?

A. By Hill, I believe.

Mr. Law. Did he mention any other ſort of arms?

A. No he did not.

Q. Inſtruments?

A. No.

A. No.

Q. Had you ever any converſation with him reſpecting muſkets?

A. I do not recollect that I ever had.

Q. You ſhowed him a pike, did he approve or diſapprove of the form of the pike that you ſhowed him?

A. He approved of that form that we ſhowed him at that time.

Q. Did he ſuggeſt any alteration to be made in the form of the Pike?

A. Not in that.

Q. What other Pyke was ſhewn him with reſpect to which he did ſuggeſt any alteration?

A. I believe he had another ſhown him.

Q. Was you preſent?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear him talk of that other Pike which you believe to have been ſhown to him?

A. No—I never did.

Q. Had you before Yorke came amongſt you had any recommendation of arming for the defence of your ſocieties?

Mr. Attorney General.—Did he mention any country in which pikes had been uſed?

A. No—I never heard him mention any thing of the ſort; of Pikes being uſed in any country.

Mr. Law. How ſoon after this Pike was ſhown to Mr. Yorke do you know of any being begun to be made at Sheffield?

A. I do not know of any before that.

Q. Do you know of any conſiderable quantity being made after that time?

A. I do not know of any quantity not to exceed three dozen that I was concerned in myſelf.

Q. By whom were theſe three dozen made?

A. By Henry Hill I believe.

Q. Do you know one Widdiſon of Fargate-ſtreet in Sheffield, a turner?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether he was employed in making any part of these Pikes?

A. I have heard him say he was employed to make a dozen of handles.

Q. Had you any converſation with Widdiſon in the preſence of Yorke?

A. No.

Q. Was you never at Yorke's lodgings with Widdiſon?

A. I have been there when Widdiſon has been there, but I do not recollect any converſation that paſſed between Widdiſon and Yorke.

Q. Did you ever ſee a pike handle at Widdiſon's in the ſame form as that you ſhowed to Yorke?

A. Yes—I have ſeen the form of the handle in Widdiſon's poſſeſſion.

Q. Of the ſame form as that you ſhowed to Yorke?

A. Yes.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Do you know how Widdiſon came by that?

A. I do not.

Mr. Law.—Was it in the day time or at night that you went to Yorke's about them?

A. In the night.

Q. What time of night?

A. Between eight and nine o'clock I believe.

Q. Did Yorke take it in his hand?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he look at it for any length of time?

A. No.

Q. Do you recollect what he ſaid upon looking at it, whether it would do or not?

A. No—he made no particular obſervation.

Q. But that he approved of that?

A. Yes—he did.

Q. From the converſation which paſſed between Yorke and Hill and you, could you collect whether Yorke had had any pikes ſhown him before of a conſtruction which he did not approve?—

A. I underſtood not, by the converſation at that time—but I underſtood by Henry Hill that he had ſhown him that before.

Mr. Erſkine.—That will not do, not that it ſignifies any thing?

Mr. Law. Recollect yourſelf—of what number of perſons might that meeting conſiſt at which Yorke recommended them to provide themſelves with arms?

A. No meeting, only at his own private lodgings.

Q. How many perſons were preſent?

A. I do not know that any were there at that time but himſelf and me.

Q. Was there any other time beſides that once when he recommended providing yourſelves with arms?

A. I do not recollect any other time.

Q. Do you recollect any meeting in the month of March, at which the providing of arms was talked of?

A. I was not preſent at that meeting, if you mean in this year.

Mr. Law. Yes.

A. I was not at that meeting when there were arms recommended if ſuch a thing paſſed—I never heard that there was a meeting of that ſort—I was not preſent at ſuch a meeting.---

Q. Have the goodneſs to recollect yourſelf---you was preſent at a meeting in March?

A. Not where the arms were recommended.---

Q. I am not ſpeaking of a meeting of the ſociety, but was you preſent in company with Yorke, and others, at any meeting in the month of March 1794, when Yorke recommended the uſe of arms or providing of arms?

A. I was not.

Q. On the Caſtle Hill—Do you remember a meeting on the Caſtle Hill?

A. Yes, I was at the Caſtle Hill.

Q. Did he recommend any thing of the kind then?

A. No.

Q. You know one Daviſon who lived with Gale the Printer?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever ſee any Pikes when he was preſent?

A. No,

A. No, I never did ſee any in his poſſeſſion.

Q. Did you in his preſence?

A. No.

Q. Do you know one Robert Moody?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember any meeting in the month of April, or in any month in the year 1794 when Mr. Yorke recommended the providing themſelves with arms?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Do you remember any ſpeech made by Yorke upon the Caſtle Hill at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he recommend in that ſpeech reſpecting the Reform of Parliament?

A. That I cannot recollect at preſent, not to make mention of the words he made uſe of.

Q. Did he recommend to them not to petition Parliament, or what?

Mr. Erſkine. What did he ſay? Is that a way to put a queſtion to your own witneſs?

Mr. Law. Did he recommend that Parliament ſhould be petitioned, or that they ſhould not?

A. That they ſhould not, and a reſolve was paſſed to that purport.

Q. Did he recommend any other means?

A. No.

Q. Did you hear an addreſs to the nation ever talked of?

A. I heard ſomething of the kind of an addreſs to the people.

Q. Was it recommended by Yorke?

A. Yes, I believe it was.

Q. Then he recommended to them not to petition Parliament, but to forbear to petition Parliament; that was agreed upon, and he recommended an addreſs to the nation? Did Yorke walk home or go home in any ſort of triumph?

A. After the meeting was over he was conducted home, I believe, in a carriage.

Q. Sup-

Q. Suppoſe you tell us the fact what you mean by conducted me?

A. Without Horſes.

Q. Drawn by the people in triumph?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Yorke ſay any thing reſpecting a nvention?

A. No I never did.

Q. Never?

A. No never.

Q. Did you ever hear him mention what would be the beſt ns of redreſſing grievances?

A. No I never did, not a word.

Q. And have never ſworn that you heard him ſay a word of that —Never about a redreſs of grievances?

A. No I do not know that I have.

Q. Or any thing reſpecting Conventions?

A. No I have heard him mention his diſapproving of the Scotch ıvention.

Q. On what ground did he profeſs himſelf to diſapprove of the tch Convention?

A. He thought it a wrong piece of buſineſs for the People to nble, for he thought the People very much unprepared.

Q. In what reſpect did he mean unprepared?

A. I do not recollect what he ſaid.

Q. Did he mention any ſteps that they ſhould have taken pre- tory to aſſembling a Convention?

A. I do not recollect any thing that he mentioned in particular arative to the meeting of the Convention.

Q. You was down at Edinburgh?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he ſtate any thing that they ſhould have done before declared themſelves a Britiſh Convention?

Q. I think he mentioned that they ſhould have firſt brought out ddreſs to the People before they declared themſelves to be a vention, or to that purpoſe.

Mr.

Mr. Attorney General. Look at that paper, Did you ever ſee that before?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you ſee that letter before?

A. In the poſſeſſion of Richard Daviſon.

Q. At what place did you ſee that letter in the poſſeſſion of Daviſon?

A. At my own Houſe.

Q. In Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that the letter we have read that was ſent to Hardy? Did you ever ſee that paper before?

A. No I do not recollect this letter.

Q. You have ſeen it before?

A. Yes I have.

Q. How long had Daviſon lived at Sheffield?

A. I cannot rightly tell, he came to live at Sheffield about the beginning of this year.

Q. Where did he come from?

A. From Leeds.

Q. Was he in one of the Societies at Leeds?

A. I believe he acted as Secretary to the Society at Leeds, when I went to Edinburgh.

Mr. Attorney General. Your Lordſhip will find his name to the letter from Leeds that has been read. Had you any converſation about the place to which the perſon to whom that letter was directed was to ſend his anſwer to Moody?

A. That the direction in that letter ſhould be Robert Moody from London.

Q. Did he give a reaſon for that?

A. I do not recollect he did; there is the name of Brodie which is ſcratched out.

Q. Had you any talk how that happened, that a letter was to come to him directed to Moody?

A. We had reaſons to believe that the letters to the Secretary were ſometimes intercepted.

Q. What

What is Moody?
A carpenter and joiner.
Had he any thing to do with pikes?
Yes.
What is Widdiſon?
A hair-dreſſer and turner.
Chief Juſtice Eyre. What had Moody to do with pikes?
He put handles, I believe, to three dozen.
What length were the handles?
I believe ſome were about ſeven feet.
What length were the blades?
About ten inches.
What ſhape were the blades?
About the ſame ſhape as a bayonet.
Do you mean they were fluted like a bayonet?
Yes.
of the Jury. And pointed?
Yes.
man. In the form and ſhape of a bayonet?
Yes.
Attorney General. Were there any of any other ſhape?
No, none that were made---none that were ſhafted.
Were there any made that were not ſhafted, of any other

There was one that was made before, that was not of that

Was that one that was not of that ſhape ever ſhewn to

Yes, I believe it was the one that Hill took up to Mr.

You ſaw that one?
Yes, I have ſeen it.
Thoſe that were actually ſhafted were in the ſhape of a
t?
Yes.
And the handle ſeven feet long, and the blade about ten
h

A. I think ſo.

Q. What wood were the handles made of?

A. I believe of fir.

Q. Was there any particular reaſon given why the handles were made of fir?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. You ſee there is a reaſon in the letter read juſt now?

A. Yes.

Mr. Erſkine. This examination is not regular—for this is Mr. Law's evidence---but I do not care about it.

Mr. Attorney General. Has Daviſon been long at Sheffield?

A. No.

Q. Do you know where he is now?

A. No---I have never heard of him ſince I was taken up.

Q. Had he left Sheffield at that time?

A. Yes, he had left it about a fortnight before I was taken up.

Q. Had Gale left it?

A. Yes.

Q. How long before you was taken up?

A. Nearly about the ſame time, I believe.

Q. Did you ever hear of ſuch a thing as a cat?

A. Yes.

Q. What is that---what is the other name of it?

A. A night-cat, I believe.

Q. What is a night-cat?

A. It ſtands four ways---about this ſhape. (*deſcribing it.*)

Q. Have you ſeen one?

A. I have ſeen the model of one.

Q. When?

A. I cannot recollect---about five or ſix weeks before I was taken up?

Q. Had you ever ſeen ſuch a thing before?

A. No, never.

Q. What is the uſe of a night-cat?

A. The uſe of it, I underſtood, was for acting againſt the cavalry.

Q. Why,

Q. Why, how was a night-cat to act againſt cavalry?

A. I cannot tell---I have mentioned all I can tell about it---I never ſaw a thing of that ſort before---that is all I know about it.

Q. You, a Sheffield man, muſt know how ſuch a thing as that could hurt a horſe?

A. By throwing it in the ſtreets.

Q. Would it run into his neck, or what other part?

A. Into his foot, I ſhould ſuppoſe.

William Camage.

Croſs-examined by *Mr. Erſkine.*

Q. You were aſked this queſtion by the Counſel for the Crown, From what paſſed amongſt the members, what was the profeſſed object of this ſociety? To which you anſwered, a parliamentary reform?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that your object when you became a member of that ſociety?

A. Yes.

Q. You ſay you was ſecretary to that ſociety?

A. Yes.

Q. From the year 1791, to 1793?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you explain to the Gentlemen of the Jury, when you became a member of this ſociety, in order to obtain a parliamentary reform. You were aſked, what paſſed among the different members? What was their object? What ſort of parliamentary reform was it, that you fairly, as a man, meant?

A. A more equal repreſentation of the people.

Q. A more equal repreſentation of the people, where?

A. In parliament.

Q. In what branch of parliament?

A. In the Houſe of Commons.

Q. Had you any idea by a parliamentary reform, in your own mind, when you became a member, or when you continued there, to touch the King's Majeſty, or the Houſe of Lords?

A. No,

A. No, never---I never had that idea.

Q. Never in your life?

A. No.

Q. I aſk you, in the preſence of God, to whom you will anſwer, had you any idea of deſtroying the King, or the Houſe of Lords?

A. No, God forbid.

Q. Had you ever, in the whole courſe of your being a member of that Society, and a Secretary, from any proceedings of the Aſſembly, from what paſſed among the members, from what they ſaid and did (I follow the queſtion which the Counſel correctly put), had you any reaſon to think that any of them meant differently from yourſelf?

A. No, never---not an individual amongſt the whole Society.

Q. Then I underſtand you to ſay, upon the oath you have taken, and ſubject to the conſequences here and hereafter, that there was no ſuch idea either in your own mind, or from what you knew from others, what they ſaid and what they did, in the mind of any other of the members?

A. Never.

Q. When you ſaid that the reſolve was not to petition parliament, did you mean not to petition it at that time, or never to petition it, when the ſentiments of the people at large could be known?

A. I cannot ſpeak to that---There was no ſpecific plan ever pointed out, by what means redreſs ſhould be obtained.

Q. Was it ever pointed out, or from any thing which paſſed in your preſence during all your attendance, that this change in the repreſentation of the people in the Houſe of Commons was to be carried by force of arms and violence?

A. No, never.

Q. If you had had an idea that the members of your Society, or of other Societies in the different parts of the kingdom, meant by combining force to over-rule the inclinations of the people at large, and the inclinations of the parliament, would you have continued a member of it?

A. No; I would not.

Q. I aſk you, under the ſolemnity of the oath which you are under, to ſay, whether you ever heard any thing ſaid, or ſaw any thing done, that led you to believe, or to ſuſpect, that that was the intention of your ſociety?

A. No; never.

Q. Did you ever hear any thing ſaid, or ſee any thing done, which led you to ſuſpect, that it was the intention, even of any miſchievous individuals among you?

A. No; I never ſuſpected it; I never had cauſe to ſuſpect any one.

Q. If you had had an idea, independently of force, that the object you was about might ultimately have affected the ſafety and honour of your Sovereign upon the throne, would you have continued in that ſociety?

A. No; I would not.

Q. You ſay you continued Secretary till the year 1793.---Did you read, with attention, all that you ſigned;---or did you take it on truſt, from the opinion you entertained of the general objects of the ſociety, that it was all as it ought to be?

A. I generally read it before I ſigned it;---I do not know that I ever ſigned a letter till I had read it.

Q. Did you continue to be a member after you ceaſed to be Secretary?

A. I did.

Q. Did you continue to be a member up to the time when you was taken up?

A. I did.

Q. Did you ſee any reaſon, before the time you was taken up, to change your ſentiments concerning the opinions of thoſe with whom you aſſociated?

A. I did not.

Q. Have you had any reaſon to believe; I aſk you to look in upon your own ſoul, when you anſwer the queſtion, that, though they might not intend miſchief originally when aſſociated, they began to intend miſchief?

A. No; I never did.

Q. When was it that your meetings began to be threatened with interruption?

A. It was about the month of April, I fancy; as near as I can gueſs, the beginning of April or March, 1794.

Q. Do you remember the time when the Convention was to meet in Edinburgh?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any thing propoſed by the ſociety of which you were a member, or did you ever hear any thing ſaid, or ſee any thing done to the effect, that this Convention was to put down the King, and the Upper Houſe, and to be itſelf the King and the Parliament?

A. Never.

Q. Did it ever enter into your conception, that this Convention was to make laws for the public, or perform the functions of any part of the State?

A. No; I never underſtood it ſo.

Q. Was it then to conſider, what would be the beſt means, in a legal manner, to effect a change in the repreſentation of the people, in the Houſe of Commons?

A. By petitioning Parliament, at the meeting of the Scotch Convention; that was the idea that the Sheffield Society had, at that time.

Q. Whether it was not univerſally ſaid, among your ſociety, (I am following Mr. Law's queſtion) that, though a petition from a ſmall number of individuals would be neglected, and therefore you laid aſide petitioning, whether it was not the general declarations,---I am not ſpeaking of men's ſecret ideas, but as far as they were manifeſted,---that when you had got the ſentiments of a great number of a reſpectable part of the people, and were then to petition, at a Convention, that the Houſe of Commons would attend to your petition, though they would not attend to a petition from a ſmall body of men?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that your idea?

A. At that time it was.

Q. Was that, upon your oath, what you collected to be the general ſentiments of the people?

A. Yes, it was; and my own ideas.

Q. Was you, while you continued a member of the ſociety, and up to the time that you was taken up, really a friend to the Britiſh Conſtitution, in its purity?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Had you any wiſh to bring into England, the deſolations and the anarchies that are in France?

A. No; never.

Q. Had you a wiſh to ſee the King put down from his throne, we will not even talk of his death, but had you a wiſh to ſee the King, and the Royal Family, put down from their ſtate and dignity?

A. No; God forbid that I ſhould ever live to ſee it.

Q. Should not you have thought yourſelf the moſt wicked and abandoned of mankind, if you had remained an hour in that ſociety, if you had thought that the wiſh of that ſociety?

A. Yes; I ſhould have thought ſo.

Q. Did you, from what you ſaw, or from what you heard, ſuſpect that to be behind the curtain, and the intentions of thoſe people, though they expreſſed themſelves differently?

Mr. Garrow. I muſt beg to object to that queſtion; it is for the jury, what this man ſuſpected was behind the curtain.

Mr. Attorney General. I certainly will not object to it.---I deſire to be underſtood, that I, by no means, agree that it is a queſtion that could be put, unleſs I conſented to it.

Mr. Erſkine. And I am much more pleaſed to accept it, upon the Attorney General's declaration now, than to argue the point, whatever might be my own opinion concerning it.---Then, from what you obſerved, ſaw, and heard, had you any reaſon to believe then, or do you now believe, that, though the papers that were ſigned carried upon the faces of them parliamentary reform, as you have expreſſed it, that there was an intention, in point of fact, to deſtroy the Conſtitution of Great-Britain?

A. No; I never had reaſon, in my life, to believe any ſuch thing.

Q. You ſay, for the firſt time, you began to be interrupted in your proceedings, in 1793?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the nature of the threats you received, and what were you afraid of?

A. We were afraid of the oppoſite party making an attack upon us in our meetings, or out of doors.

Q. What do you mean by the oppoſite party, the King and Parliament, or the people in Sheffield, of a different opinion?

A. The people in Sheffield, of a different opinion.

Q. You were afraid of the oppoſite party, of the people who thought differently from you, that they intended to perſecute you?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you believe, at the time you was threatened to be interrupted, that you were doing what was legal?

A. Yes; we believed we were doing every thing that was legal.

Q. Did you, for one, believe you was doing what was legal?

A. Yes; I did not know that I was committing any thing that was wrong. I never heard that any thing was not right.

Q. What was the nature of the apprehenſion that you had, at the time that Mr. Yorke propoſed your having arms to defend yourſelves?

A. The opinion I had was, that the people, if they meant to attack us, would do it by force of arms themſelves.

Q. What people?

A. The oppoſite party to us in Sheffield.

Q. Had you any other intention, or from all that you heard in your ſociety, from Mr. Yorke himſelf, or any body in your ſociety, that any other uſe was intended to be made of theſe three dozen of pikes, or any thing elſe you had, but merely to defend yourſelves?

A. Nothing elſe.

Q. Do you believe, from any thing you heard or ſaw, that it was in the contemplation of any body to employ theſe pikes, or any other arms, againſt the King and the Parliament?

A. No; never.

Q. Would

Q. Would you have remained an hour in that ſociety, if you had any reaſon to ſee, that that was the uſe intended to be made of thoſe arms?

A. No; I would not.

Q. Did you believe—I am not aſking you the law, for you cannot be ſuppoſed to know any thing of the law—Did you believe that you had a right to arms for your defence, under the law of your country?

A. I did believe I had.

Q. Under what law?

A. By the Bill of Rights.

Q. Was that the manner in which the right to have theſe arms was debated in your ſociety?

A. I do not remember any debate.

Q. But was any thing ſaid about your right to have arms, if you were attacked by malicious people?

A. We thought we had a right to defend ourſelves, founded upon the Bill of Rights, againſt any of thoſe people that might attack us.

Mr. Attorney General. Who told you that you had that right?

A. I have heard Mr. Yorke ſay ſo.

Mr. Erſkine. Was it ever debated amongſt you, that, if you were commanded by the whole authority of the State, that you was to raiſe arms amongſt the people to ſupport the authority of your Convention as a Parliament?

A. No; I never heard that debated.

Q. Was there ever any hint, that the laws were to be made by thoſe twenty or thirty people at Edinburgh?

A. No; I never heard any ſuch thing.

Q. What did you conſider theſe people at Edinburgh were to do, who were a Convention from theſe different ſocieties?

A. I cannot ſpeak to what their buſineſs was when met together.

Q. Were they to conſider what were the beſt means to go on, in a legal and peaceable manner, to obtain a Parliamentary Reform?

 A. I ſuppoſed

A. I ſuppoſed ſo; I underſtood it ſo.

Q. Did you know Mr. Hardy?

A. I never did.

Q. Did you really think, that you were contending for rights that rendered more ſecure, and more permanent, the King's title?

A. I did; I always looked upon it as ſuch.

Q. Do you recollect why that particular ſpecies of arms was recommended, or any thing ſaid about theſe pikes?

A. I believe it was the cheapneſs of the article.

Q. You ſaw a model of this cat?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you an inhabitant of Sheffield at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever ſee ſuch a thing, or know that there was any one made from that model?

A. No; I never did.

Q. Did you ever ſee ſuch a one in the kingdom of Great-Britain?

A. The perſon I got it of ſaid he had ſeen ſuch things, many years before, at Newcaſtle.

Q. But you never ſaw, nor none of your ſociety, to your knowledge, ever ſaw any inſtrument made after this model?

A. No; not that I know of.

William Camage.

Re-examined by *Mr. Attorney General.*

Q. You ſay this man told you he had ſeen ſome of theſe night-cats at Newcaſtle?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he tell you at what time, in the hiſtory of his life, he had ſeen them there?

A. It was during his life time.

Q. Was it at any particular period of the hiſtory of the country, did he tell you?

A. No; he did not mention the year he had ſeen them in.

Q. You know what I mean perfectly well.—Did he tell you what was going on in the country, at the time he ſaw them at Newcaſtle?

A. I did

A. I do not recollect that he did.---I think he ſaid it was ſome time about the American war;---about the cloſe of it.

Q. You ſay you expected oppoſition from the other party, at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. How came you and Daviſon to ſend a letter about ſending pikes to London, in order to oppoſe the other party at Sheffield?

A. It was Daviſon ſent the letter.

Q. So Daviſon ſent a letter to London about pikes, you thinking they were to oppoſe the other party at Sheffield?

A. He might have the ſame views in it for the people of London, as for the people at Sheffield?

Q. You have talked about cavalry;---what were the oppoſite party at Sheffield; who were to attack you with cavalry?

A. I do not know.

Q. Why, what cavalry was this night-cat for?

A. It was only a model of one;---I never ſaw any made;---it was never to be put in execution.

Q. How came you to talk about cavalry?

A. It was when he was talking about the uſe of it.

Q. Your opinion was about the oppoſite party at Sheffield, and Daviſon's opinion, of courſe, about the oppoſite party in London?

A. Yes.

Q. That is what he calls the bare-faced Ariſtocracy of the preſent Adminiſtration?

A. He called it ſo.

Q. What did you underſtand by that, when he ſhowed you this letter, before he ſent it to London, about the pikes, upon your oath?

A. I only, upon my oath, underſtood that he meant the oppoſite party.

Q. Why this Daviſon, who meant as little as you did, was not ſo bold as you, for he ran away a fortnight before you were taken up?

A. Yes.

Q. How came he to do that?

A. I believe

A. I believe he heard of ſome perſons being in Sheffield;—that was the report.

Q. And ſo he thought ſo little about this innocent thing of the oppoſite party, that he ran away?

A. I cannot give any other reaſon.

Q. You told us that the cheapneſs of the article was the reaſon why you thought of pikes?

A. Yes.

Q. How much was the handle and the blade to coſt?

A. Twenty-pence, I believe.

Q. So that thirteen-pence would not pay for them?

A. The hoop and the blade would come to that by themſelves.

Q. If the blade and the hoop had come to London, at the price of one ſhilling, there would be ſome more expence to pay, that ſome body elſe muſt provide for?

A. Yes; there would be the ſhaft to it.

Q. Did you ever hear of ſuch a place as the Parrot, in Green Harbour Alley, London?

A. No; I did not.

Q. Never?

A. No; I never did.

Q. Had you any converſation with Daviſon about theſe pikes, after he ſhowed you this letter?

A. I do not recollect that I had any converſation with him at the time.

Q. But after?

A. No; not that I can bring to my recollection what it was.

William Broomhead (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. You reſide at Sheffield, I believe?

A. Yes.

Q. What are you by buſineſs?

A. A Cutler.

Q. Was you a member of any ſociety at Sheffield, which had the name of the Conſtitutional Society?

A. Yes

A. Yes.

Q. At what time did you become a member of it?

A. At the firſt inſtitution of the ſociety, I think in the year 1791, when the ſociety was firſt inſtituted.

Q. Was you one of twelve of that ſociety which were afterwards aſſociated with the Conſtitutional Society of London?

A. I was not then a member of any committee, nor did I act in any public character.

Q. That is not the queſtion that I put to you; I aſk, whether at any time you became an aſſociated member of a ſociety in London, called the Conſtitutional Society?

A. I never was a member of the Conſtitutional Society in London.

Q. I did not aſk you whether you were or not, but whether you were one of the twelve of the Sheffield Society who were aſſociated with the Conſtitutional Society in London?

A. We were above twelve when that Society was wrote to, and therefore I do not underſtand the queſtion.

Q. I will explain the queſtion to you: your ſociety at Sheffield were more numerous than twelve?

A. Yes.

Q. And when you were more numerous than twelve, the Conſtitutional Society in London were written to by your ſociety—Do you agree ſo far with me?

A. Yes.

Q. Did your ſociety, when you wrote to the other ſociety, propoſe any names of perſons to be aſſociated with the ſociety in London?

A. I never heard that ſubject ſpoken of, nor any letter to that purpoſe.

Q. Did you know whether you, or any other perſons of the Sheffield Society, were received as aſſociated members of the Conſtitutional Society in London?

A. I do not recollect any ſuch perſons being conſtituted a member of the Conſtitutional Society in London; I do not recollect, I have no knowledge of any ſuch matter.

Q. Do

Q. Do I underſtand you right, that you do recollect ſuch a propoſition moving from your ſociety to the London Society?

A. Letters were wrote from one ſociety to the other.

Q. Propoſing ſuch a meaſure?

A. I underſtood that they acted in conjunction; I always underſtood it as ſuch.

Q. Did I underſtand you right, that one of the modes by which that acting in conjunction was to be brought about, was, that a certain number of you ſociety ſhould be aſſociated with the London Conſtitutional Society, for the purpoſes of general conjunctive acting?

A. I do not know that any ſuch ſubject was ever ſettled; I know no farther of the junction of the ſociety but what paſſed by letter.

Q. Did you at any time act as a ſecretary to the ſociety at Sheffield?

A. Yes, about five months.

Q. Was that the five months laſt before you were apprehended?

A. Yes.

Q. When was you apprehended?

A. I think in May laſt.

Q. Be ſo good as tell us for what purpoſe your Conſtitutional Society were aſſembled, and what the profeſſed object of their aſſembling was?

A. The object was a Parliamentary Reform.

Q. By what means was that Reform to be effected?

A. By meeting and endeavouring to enlighten each other, and ſpread the knowledge both of the grievances which we conſidered, to exiſt, or which were frequently wrote of and ſpoken of, and informing the people of the neceſſity of a Reform, that they might unitedly move for it in the beſt and moſt unexceptionable mode.

Q. Was there any peculiar mode by which the election of members to the Houſe of Commons was to be effected, according to your propoſition as to the right of voting?

A. That ſubject was never diſcuſſed to my knowledge.

Q. Are you acquainted with the expreſſion—*univerſal ſuffrage*

A. I expect I am.

Q. W—

Q. Was it or not the ſcheme of the Conſtitutional Society at Sheffield, that a reform was to be produced by univerſal ſuffrage?

A. It never was, as far as my recollection of it; it never was until the Edinburgh Convention, I never heard of univerſal ſuffrage until that time.

Q. Was the circumſtance of the Edinburgh Convention known to the Conſtitutional Society at Sheffield?

A. They ſent a delegate, and therefore certainly they muſt know it.

Q. Who was their delegate at the Convention at Edinburgh?

A. Matthew Campbell Brown; but I was not ſecretary at that time; they called upon me to take upon me the ſecretaryſhip juſt after he was gone to Edinburgh.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Henry Yorke?

A. I know a perſon who goes by that name.

Q. Perhaps you know him by another name?

A. I have heard another name?

Q. What is it?

A. Henry Redhead.

Q. And who likewiſe goes by the name of Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. Did Yorke or Redhead ever reſide at Sheffield?

A. Several times he has been at Sheffield.

Q. Did he reſide there for any time?

A. This laſt time I do not exactly know how long; may be ſix weeks, or ſeven or eight weeks.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Gale, a printer at Sheffield?

A. Very well.

Q. Mr. Yorke was not a ſettled inhabitant of Sheffield, was he?

A. No.

Q. Did he attend the Meetings of the Conſtitutional Society at Sheffield?

A. He attended almoſt every weekly Meeting during his laſt viſit to Sheffield.

Q. As he was not a ſettled inhabitant of Sheffield, in what character

character did Mr. Yorke, during his laſt viſit, attend regularly the weekly Meetings of the ſociety?

A. They conſidering him as a man of conſiderable abilities, and as an orator, paid great reſpect to him, and he uſed to attend conſtantly once a week at the Meeting which was called the committee; but it was not properly a committee, for the time of the expiration of the committee which was before, was elapſed, and another was not choſe, and ſuch perſons who had been on the committee were admitted principally on account of Mr. Yorke being at Sheffield?

Q. You have given me a good reaſon why he ſhould be treated with reſpect when he was there; that he was a man of talents and an orator; but I aſk in what character he came there?

A. I am totally unacquainted with that, for he did not bring any letter to us; I have heard ſay———

Q. Did you ever hear him himſelf ſay?

A. No; I never had any converſation with him upon it.

Q. You never heard from himſelf then in what character he came there?

A. No.

Q. But being there, you diſcovered he had great talents, and was an orator?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he take any part in the management of the buſineſs of the ſociety?

A. He wrote ſeveral pamphlets while at Sheffield, and at ſeveral times brought ſome part, if not the whole of theſe pamphlets, in manuſcript, to theſe meetings to be read.

Q. Do you ſpeak now of the weekly Meetings, which were improperly called committees?

A. Yes.

Q. Where were theſe Meetings held?

A. At my houſe?

Q. You had a commodious room there probably?

A. It was a ſmall room where theſe Meetings met, but there was a large room when a great number met.

Q. The

Q. The Meeting was improperly called a committee, when they met in a ſmall room?

A. Yes.

Q. How often was the other room uſed?

A. Some two, three, or four times; I do not recollect how many during his laſt viſit.

Q. Was there in that room any preparation for the more commodious exerciſe of the talents of oratory of Mr. Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. What?

A. A little matter erected to elevate the ſpeaker.

Q. What was that called, that we may have a name to put down in our notes?

A. Some called it one thing, ſome called it another.

Q. What did you call it, for inſtance?

A. I never called it any thing.

Q. What was the more general name for it in the ſociety?

A. Some called it the pulpit, ſome the tribune, but it never was chriſtened?

Q. But it was a commodious elevation for the orator, and ſome called it a pulpit, others a tribune?

A. Yes.

Q. And from this tribune Mr. Yorke addreſſed the ſociety?

A. He did.

Q. Beſides thoſe Meetings improperly called committees, and thoſe Meetings in which the tribune was, do you remember any Meeting upon the Caſtle-hill?

A. Very well.

Q. Was that of the date of the 7th of April?

A. I do not juſtly recollect the day, but I was there.

Q. Was Mr. Yorke there?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he there exerciſe himſelf in addreſſing the people?

A. Yes.

Q. In what ſort of manner and language?

A. He had a book in his hand wrote by Locke, and he expatiated very largely on the corruption that had crept into the

the Engliſh conſtitution, or rather the evils which generally are complained of, and ſhewed there was a deviation, in ſome degree, from the original conſtitution of Great-Britain; but his manner of ſpeaking may ſometimes lead him to go farther than he ought.

Q. Did that unfortunate fatality upon this occaſion occur, that he did go farther than in your judgment he ought?

A. It was agreed upon that I ſhould make a motion.

Q. Firſt anſwer my queſtion; did it appear to you that his addreſs that had Locke's book for its text, was more violent, and went farther than it ought?

A. He is peculiarly energetic, and at the ſame time very fiery, very warm, very ſtrong; but at this Meeting I do not know that he ſaid any thing that was detrimental to the conſtitutional law of England—not at this Meeting.

Q. It was ſettled, you ſaid, that you were to do ſomething—ſettled by whom?

A. By Mr. Yorke and Mr. Gale, at a Meeting previous.

Q. At one of the committees?

A. Yes; that I ſhould make a motion for a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, for a Reform in the Repreſentation of the People.

Q. For what purpoſe was you to make that motion as it was ſettled?

A. That it might be over-ruled.

Q. Was it ſettled at the committee before-hand then, that a motion ſhould be made that it might be over-ruled?

A. Yes, it was ſo agreed upon, and further for the purpoſe of introducing another motion in its place.

Q. Did you make the motion as it had been agreed?

A. I did, for petitioning the Houſe of Commons.

Q. What was done upon your making that motion?

A. It was objected to with a view of making way for another which was brought in and carried.

Q. Who was it objected to by; who was the objector?

A. There were only four of us, the other member I do not at preſent recollect: it was either Henry Yorke, Joſeph Gale, or William Camage.

Q. You

Q. You mean there were only four of the committee that ended—

A. In the elevation there.

Q. There was an elevation then upon the Caſtle-hill?

A. Yes, one of thoſe things we called the tribune was carried on the Caſtle-hill.

Q. Then one of theſe perſons oppoſed your motion?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of perſons might there be aſſembled at this eeting?

A. Several thouſands?

Q. A Meeting in the open air?

A. Yes.

Q. And then one of theſe perſons oppoſed your motion, as it id been agreed, for the introduction of another?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the ſubſtance of that other motion?

A. Inſtead of petitioning the Houſe of Commons to petition s Majeſty, and a Petition was drawn up; the parchments lay at y houſe.

Q. Drawn up by whom?

A. By Henry Yorke or Redhead.

Q. Was it before or after the Meeting in the open air, that it as drawn up?

A. Perhaps it might be drawn up before, and read there; I ink it was, but it was not ſigned till after.

Q. Then it was left at your houſe for ſignatures?

A. It was.

Q. Upon the occaſion of the introducing this amendment upon ur propoſition, did Mr. Yorke addreſs the Meeting, compoſed, you ſay, of ſome thouſands.

A. Yes, he addreſſed them; he introduced that ſubject of peti- ning the King to exerciſe his power, for a Reform in the Repre- ntation of the People, and this Petition was ſent up to London Earl Stanhope, but he did not think proper to preſent it in at form.

Q. Do you remember a day or two after the Meeting upon the Caſtle-hill,

Caſtle-hill, being in company with Gale and Yorke at your houſe, when any application was made to Yorke upon the ſubject of the ſpeech he had delivered to the people upon the Caſtle-hill; do you remember any application to him a day or two afterwards, upon the ſubject of printing his ſpeech?

A. I remember ſomething being ſaid to him upon it at my houſe.

Q. Did he agree to print his ſpeech?

A. To the beſt of my recollection, he did.

Q. Was it printed?

A. It was.

Q. Did you ſee it afterwards in print?

A. Yes.

Q. From having heard it upon the Caſtle-hill, could you form an opinion, whether the printed copy which you ſaw afterwards, was a pretty accurate ſtatement of what paſſed?

A. The ſubſtance of the matter he delivered there, I believe it contains.

Q. Was that publiſhed at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you believe this to be one of thoſe publications *(ſhewing it to the witneſs)*?

A. I do.

Q. Did you receive afterwards from Yorke, any number of theſe pamphlets for any purpoſe?

A. I did not receive them from Yorke, but I received them at Gale's ſhop.

Q. Did you do any thing with them by the direction of Yorke?

A. It was by the direction of the Meeting, previous to their being communicated to different perſons.

Q. Do you mean the General Meeting, or the Private Meeting?

A. The Private Meeting directed they ſhould be communicated to different perſons.

Q. Did you, in conſequence, make up any packets of them, and do you believe theſe to be two of the packets *(ſhewing them to the witneſs)*?

A. The[y]

A. They are; they are directed to me according to order.

Q. How many might you direct in that manner, in ſeparate packages?

A. I do not recollect exactly, there might be twenty-four, or more.

Q. What was done with theſe, after you had made them up ſeparately, and addreſſed them to the different perſons?

A. They were lapped up and directed to certain perſons, and then all put together in a box.

Q. To whom were they ſent?

A. To the beſt of my recollection they were ſent to Thomas Hardy.

Q. What was your ſituation in life before you was applied to to become the Secretary of this ſociety?

A. I was a cutler.

Q. Was you working at your buſineſs?

A. Yes, when I had any buſineſs to work at.

Q. Was you applied to to become the Secretary, or did you apply for it?

A. I was applied to.

Q. By whom?

A. By one of the members, John Alcock.

Q. Was you paid any thing for your trouble?

A. Yes.

Q. What was your inducement to take that office upon you?

A. I ſhould not have taken it upon me, if I had not been applied to.

Q. What induced you to do it?

A. The war deſtroyed my buſineſs?

Q. Am I to underſtand that you did it to increaſe your means of ſupport?

A. I did.

Q. Did it come to your knowledge, in your character as a member of the ſociety, or otherwiſe, that there were any preparations of arms of any ſort at Sheffield?

A. I heard reports as other people might do, but purpoſely avoided meddling, in thought or act, with any matter of that ſort.

Q. Did you in the ſociety, or from the members of the ſociety,

hear of any propoſition for providing arms, or that any were in preparation?

A. I did, and it is proper that this ſhould be well explained.

Q. Explain that?

A. A few days before this Meeting, when it was ſpoken to as being the right of Engliſhmen to have in their power means of defence, a hand-bill, a ſpurious hand-bill was publiſhed in Sheffield, with an intention to provoke the ſociety to ſome unjuſtifiable meaſures, and it was ſpoke to in the Meeting, that it was their right to have them in their own defence, and Joſeph Gale ſpoke to it; he was the man. This wicked hand-bill was not ſigned by any magiſtrate; it was throwed about the town in the dark, it cauſed an agitation in the minds of the people, and it was ſpoke of as being the right of every individual there, to have ſuch and ſuch arms according to their rights, leſt any tumult or riot ſhould break out. I am happy to ſpeak of this, and I ſhould be happy to ſee that advertiſement, with what was ſaid at this Meeting, which was publiſhed in the Sheffield paper the week after.

Q. Was this hand-bill diſtributed previous to the Meeting upon the Caſtle-hill?

A. To the beſt of my recollection it was after that Meeting.

Q. Was the ſubject of procuring arms publickly diſcuſſed or in the private Meetings of the ſociety?

A. It was at a public Meeting Mr. Gale ſpoke of our rights.

Q. A Meeting in your large room?

A. Yes.

Q. A public Meeting of the ſociety?

A. Yes.

Q. By the ſociety only?

A. There were many others that were not members there, as well as others.

Q. How did they come; were they introduced by members?

A. The tickets were not regularly delivered, I believe, at that time.

Q. Then members introduced viſitors?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ſee any arms, or any model of any?

A. I never

A. I never ſaw a pike till I ſaw one when I was brought to London.

Q. What ſort of arms were they that were talked of, as fit to be had for the purpoſes ſtated?

A. Pikes were talked of, but I never ſaw one till I was brought to London.

Q. I do not know whether you heard any thing of the night-cats?

A. I ſaw a model of one, but it was only like the play thing of a child.

Q. Now we will have an account of the manner in which children play at Sheffield, what ſort of an inſtrument was it?

A. A little inſtrument ſtanding up with a point about one inch high.

One of the Jury. It was in a ball was it not?

A. No.

Mr. Garrow. It had four croſs points?

Juryman. Were there only four of theſe?

A. I think there were four.

Mr. Garrow. So that if you threw it down it always preſented a point.

A. That did.

Q. How long is that point?

A. This was about three quarters of an inch.

Q. Only made juſt to ſhow what the ſort of thing was?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any other purpoſe for which theſe inſtruments were ſpoken of in the ſociety to be made, except playing with them as children?

A. Never any mention made of them in the ſociety at all.

Q. Where did you ſee the model?

A. At the houſe of one Benjamin Dunn.

Q. Was he a member of the ſociety?

A. Yes, but it was not he that produced it.

Q. Who produced it at his houſe?

A. I think they call him Charles Rhodes.

Q. Had you ever ſeen ſuch a thing before?

A. I never did.

Q. You naturally were led to aſk its uſe and the purpoſe for which it was to be conſtructed. What was ſtated to be the purpoſe of this play thing?

A. I do not recollect any converſation upon that head, but it was taken and thrown upon the floor.

Q. Was that act of throwing it on the floor, and of conſtr its preſenting one of its points accompanied by no deſcription of the uſe it might be applied to, beſides playing with it?

A. What might be ſaid that night might not be ſerious.

Q. When talking of a play thing one is not ſerious; now, ſerious or not, what was ſaid of it?

A. Nothing was ſaid, but he brought it to ſhow them.

Q. What was ſaid, ſerious or not ſerious, as to the uſe to which that might or could or was intended to be applied?

A. I cannot call to mind any thing that was ſaid, but this only, that he came to ſhow them that ſuch a little boy, whoſe name he mentioned, had made it and ſhowed it them.

Q. Was it called by any name?

A. I heard no name of it till I came to London, there it was called a Cat.

Q. A night Cat, or day Cat, or any thing of that kind?

A. I heard no name whatever.

Q. Was there any converſation at that time when it was thrown upon the floor about Cavalry?

A. I do not recollect any converſation at all, but merely the throwing it upon the floor.

Q. You ſaid juſt now that the converſation ſuch as it was, might not be ſerious?

A. No, laughing at it.

Q. Upon your oath was there any converſation ſerious or not with reſpect to Cavalry or the town of Newcaſtle?

A. Newcaſtle was not mentioned there, it was not at the ſame place I apprehend.

Q. Where was it that there was converſation about the town of Newcaſtle?

A. I know nothing about any converſation about Newcaſtle.

Q. Upon

Q. Upon your oath was you never preſent when that model was produced, and when there was a converſation about Newcaſtle?

A. Upon my oath I never was.

Q. Then you never heard any converſation at Sheffield about this night Cat or this model of a night Cat with reſpect to Cavalry?

A. I do not recollect any converſation about its uſe but a mere trifling deſultory pleaſing irregular converſation with one another.

Q. Now that trifling pleaſing deſultory irregular converſation I want to have?

A. I am ſure I cannot recollect it, if I could recollect it I would.

Q. Try, do not hurry yourſelf?

A. I cannot recollect any thing that was ſaid, only his taking it out of his pocket, ſhowing it us, and throwing it on the floor; there was no regular converſation, no debate whatever about it.

Q. And the nature of the deſultory obſervations that were made you do not recollect?

A. He ſhowed it to the company as being the production of a boy, a child, I remember that perfectly well.

Q. It was a thing that you had never ſeen any thing like before?

A. I believe I never had.

Q. You contented yourſelf with ſeeing it thrown down, and looking at one of its points?

A. I had nothing to do with it whatever.

Q. You told me that at the meetings at the Caſtle-Hill, Mr. Yorke, though in general warm and energetic, and diſpoſed to ſay ſtrong things, did not ſay any thing that was detrimental to the Conſtitutional Law of England, was you preſent at any other meeting where his ſpeeches were not quite of that character?

A. I have been preſent at other meetings when he has not been ſo well guarded as he was at that meeting.

Q. Perhaps thoſe might be meetings of the ſociety only?

A. So called, of the ſociety only.

Q. But with viſitors admitted, be ſo good as tell us the tendency

of his diſcourſes when he rather gave himſelf liberty, when he followed the impulſe of his nature?

A. If I had noted them down I might have been able to have repeated them.

Q. I do not expect you ſhould give us them in his manner or preciſe words, but give us the ſubſtance and effect of thoſe expreſſions which appeared to you to be unguarded?

A. I do not juſtly recollect at preſent.

Q. Endeavour to recollect?

A. I may have heard him when converſing in thoſe meetings, ſometimes he was very warm to be ſure, and might drop unguarded expreſſions.

Q. Such as what unguarded expreſſions?

A. Comparing what he looked upon to be the grievances under which we laboured, with the privileges which Engliſhmen once enjoyed, he might ſtep out of the way.

Q. What expreſſions did he uſe which appeared to you to be unguarded?

A. I heard him uſe one expreſſion, but for my own part I will not preſume to put a comment upon it, he expreſſed himſelf to this purport, that we were in a low deſpicable ſituation, and rather than ſubmit he would go up to London with the people there preſent.

Q. Who were *we*?

A. We Engliſhmen were in ſuch a condition, that rather than ſubmit to it he would go up to London with the people there preſent, but he did not ſay for what.

Q. How many were the People preſent with whom Mr. Yorke was to come up rather than to ſubmit to the degraded ſtate in which the People of England were?

A. There might be perhaps 150 or perhaps 200.

Q. Was this at one of the meetings of the ſociety?

A. With ſome others.

Q. One of the general meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. Compoſed of members of the ſociety and of others?

A. Yes.

On

One of the Jury. He would go up with them to London, and what then?

A. He did not draw any inference.

Mr. Garrow. Was that after you had heard any thing upon the ſubject of arming?

A. I think it was before, to the beſt of my memory it was before that, but I am not perfectly clear in that.

Q. Was that delivered from the Tribune?

A. Delivered from the place which was ſometimes called ſo, and ſometimes called a pulpit.

Q. It was from the orator's elevation that this ſpeech was delivered?

A. Yes.

Q. Perhaps having brought that to your memory, may enable you to recollect ſome other accompanying expreſſions?

A. I do not recollect any other that gave me any pain at the time, what was the cauſe of my remembering that, was the pain I felt at the time.

Q. What was it that occaſioned any ſenſation of pain in you at that declaration of Mr. Yorke?

A. Why, I fear God and honour the king.

Q. And therefore you felt pain at that declaration of Mr. Yorke's?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, either at that or any other of theſe meetings, do you recollect any of theſe expreſſions of Mr. Yorke?

A. I do not recollect any expreſſions that ſo ſtruck me as that.

Q. I do not know whether you have ſeen this paper before, *(ſhewing the witneſs a printed paper?)*

A. I never ſaw this, but I ſaw one from which this was taken.

Q. Have you ſeen a pamphlet of which you believe that to be one copy?

A. Yes.

Q. Look at this, *(ſhewing the witneſs another printed pamphlet, the Faſt-day, as obſerved at Sheffield)* have you ſeen that before?

A. I have.

Q. Do you remember the circumſtance of a proclamation for a general faſt to be held the 28th February 1794?

A. Yes.

Q. In what manner was that faſt obſerved upon the Caſtle Hill at Sheffield?

A. It was not at the Caſtle Hill.

Q. Where was it?

A. At the Top of the Town in another place.

Q. In the open air?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you there?

A. I was.

Q. What number of perſons do you think might be aſſembled for the purpoſe of obſerving that faſt?

A. Not ſo many.—

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. How is that evidence?

Mr. Attorney General. Your Lordſhip will recollect that we read a reſolution from the books of the Conſtitutional Society, thanking the People of Sheffield for the manner in which they had ſpent the faſt day.

Mr. Garrow. With this addition, that the printed paper in my hand was found in the priſoner's poſſeſſion.

Broomhead. I cannot aſcertain the number, but there were not ſo many as upon the Caſtle Hill.

Q. About how many do you think might be aſſembled?

A. I cannot tell properly, there might be a thouſand or two.

Q. Tell us the manner in which you, together with that aſſembly of a thouſand or two, celebrated that faſt; is the manner in which it is repreſented in this printed paper that I ſhowed to you correct?

A. To the beſt of my knowledge it is.

Q. What might the number of your Society properly ſo called amount to?

A. Nearly 600, more or leſs.

Q. Are you divided into diviſions?

A. Such a mode has been adviſed, but was not regularly kept.

Q. By whom had that mode been adviſed?

A. I do not recollect becauſe that was adviſed I believe before I was a member.

Q. Do

Q. Do you think that 600 was the full amount of the members of your Society at its greateſt extent; do you believe it ever amounted to 2000?

A. No ſuch thing, becauſe I wrote the tickets down.

Q. The diſtribution into diviſions or ſections was not regularly executed?

A. No.

Q. What was done towards that?

A. There were a kind of books delivered, called diſtrict books; they were not regularly attended to, that is all I can ſay about it.

Q. What was the object of the diſtribution of theſe diſtrict books, where did they iſſue from?

A. They were printed by Joſeph Gale.

Q. By whoſe directions?

A. They were printed before I joined them.

Q. Were the ſociety's books printed by Gale, one of your members, a printer at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. To what perſons were they diſtributed, and for what purpoſe?

A. The members of the ſociety, divided into as we may term them ſections, they were called diſtricts.

Q. What was to be the mode in which theſe diſtricts of the ſociety, were to aſſemble themſelves?

A. They were to meet, if they thought proper, to collect pennies a week principally, a penny a week from each member.

Q. Were there any regular periods at which the ſeveral ſections or diviſions were to communicate in one general Aſſembly, or was that left to an emergency?

A. Such a thing was mentioned, but it never was executed.

Q. What was mentioned, but not executed?

A. About theſe perſons meeting to whom the book was delivered, but it was never put in practice.

Q. So that the diſtrict meetings were not ſo regularly attended to, if I underſtand you, as the general meetings of the ſociety?

A. No, not properly attended to.

Mr. Edward Lauzum, called.

Q. Look at theſe Pamplets (the Faſt-day as obſerved at Sheffield, and a ſerious lecture) where did you find them?

A. I found both theſe in Mr. Hardy's Houſe.

Mr. Garrow to William Broombead.

Q. After the ſerious lecture was read, there was an hymn prepared I believe?

A. Yes.

Q. Who prepared that Hymn?

A. Gale printed it.

Q. Who compoſed it?

A. I believe it was compoſed by one Montgomery.

Q. That was ſung in full chorus by the whole aſſembly?

A. Yes it was ſung.

Q. By whoſe order were theſe two pamphlets printed and publiſhed?

A. I believe they were printed by Joſeph Gale.

Q. By whoſe order, and at whoſe expence?

A. They were ſold.

Q. But there is an expence incurred, in printing and publiſhing before the ſale reimburſes?

A. Joſeph Gale did not receive any money before the ſale.

Q. Who ordered it to be printed?

A. I believe it was a private matter.

Q. Who furniſhed the copy to Gale?

A. I do not know for certain.

Q. Who read the lecture?

A. A gentleman from Hallifax.

Q. Do you know of any proceedings of the ſociety, of the committee, or of Yorke, reſpecting printing and publiſhing theſe two pamphlets?

A. I do not recollect any at preſent.

Q. Were they in general diſtributed through the town of Sheffield?

A. They were ſold.

Q. Do you know of your own knowledge whether the ſale was extenſive or not?

A. I

A. I think not very extenſive.

Q. There is a prayer, who compoſed that do you know?

A. Myſelf.

Q. Who was that delivered by?

A. By myſelf.

Q. From notes, or extempore?

A. It was extempore.

Q. You had written it, and committed it to memory, perhaps?

A. Yes.

Q. What became of your copy?

A. Indeed, I do not know; I took no account of it; it was delivered to be printed.

Q. By whoſe directions?

A. I do not recollect; it was at a private meeting that that was ſpoken of.

Q. A private meeting of what?

A. Several members of the ſociety.

Q. Tell me, if you know their names, John Paine, of New-hill?

A. I have heard the name, but I do not know the perſon.

Q. Was he a member of the ſociety?

A. I believe he might be.

Mr. Garrow. It is in evidence, that he was one of thoſe ſent up by their Secretary to the London Society.

Q. You know Joſeph Gale?

A. Yes.

Q. He was a member?

A. Yes.

Q. And Joſeph Smith?

A. Yes.

Q. And David Martin?

A. Yes.

Mr. Garrow. It is not worth while going through the names; they were ſent up to the Conſtitutional Society, to be affiliated with them, which is proof that they were members.

Extracts

Extracts read from a printed pamphlet, entitled, " Proceedings " of the Public Meeting, *held at Sheffield, in the open Air,* " *on the 7th of April,* 1794;" *and alſo an* " Addreſs to the " Britiſh Nation, *being an* Expoſition of the Motives *which* " *have determined* the People of Sheffield to petition the Houſe " of Commons no more, *on the Subject of* Parliamentary Re- " form. *Printed for the* Sheffield Conſtitutional Society."

" *Proceedings of the Public Meeting,*

" In purſuance of a public advertiſement, a General Meeting " of the Friends of Juſtice, Liberty, and Humanity, was held, " at three o'clock on Monday, the 7th of April, 1794, on the " Caſtle-hill, in Sheffield, to conſider upon the propriety of ad- " dreſſing the King, in behalf of the perſecuted Patriots, Citizens " Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarott, and Gerrald; alſo of " again petitioning the Houſe of Commons for a Reform in the " Repreſentation of the People, and to determine upon the pro- " priety of petitioning the King, for the total and unqualified " Abolition of Negro Slavery.

" Notwithſtanding the inclemency of the weather, (very ſevere " rains having fallen until within a quarter of an hour of the " appointed time of meeting,) from ten to twelve thouſand " people were aſſembled on the occaſion:

" HENRY YORKE having been voted to the Chair,

" The buſineſs was opened by reading the following Addreſs " to the King, in behalf of the ſuffering Patriots:

" TO THE KING.

" *An Addreſs from the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood* " *of Sheffield, in the County of York.*

" SIRE,

" We, the underſigned, being warm Friends of Liberty and " the Rights of Man, feel ourſelves deeply affected by the ſen- " tences which have lately been paſſed in your Majeſty's Courts " of Scotland, upon Citizens Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarott, " and Gerrald.

" Had

" Had theſe men been really guilty of *crimes*, their puniſh-
" ment ſhould doubtleſs have been proportionate to their offences;
" but, ſo far from conſidering it as a crime for a man to uſe every
" conſtitutional means in his power to effect a Reform in the
" Commons Houſe of Parliament, we think that every man who
" thus exerts himſelf, deſerves well of his Country; ſince we
" are perſuaded that nothing ſhort of the Accompliſhment of ſuch
" a Reform, will reſtore Peace and Happineſs to our preſent
" aggrieved and injured Nation.

" We truſted alſo, that your Majeſty entertained the ſame
" opinion with us of ſuch exalted conduct, from your Majeſty's
" having choſen for your moſt confidential ſervants in the State,
" men who had ſingularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their pa-
" triotic exertions in the cauſe of Parliamentary Reform:

" But the Friends of theſe Sufferers having brought their caſe
" before Parliament, without producing the deſired effect—the
" principal of theſe very ſervants of your Majeſty having oppoſed
" the meaſure with all his corrupt, but irreſiſtable Influence—
" ſeeing no other reſource, we approach your Majeſty in this
" Addreſs, to intreat your Majeſty to interfere in behalf of theſe
" (whom we deem) *innocent* men, with that Power which the
" Britiſh Conſtitution has placed in your Majeſty, of pardoning
" whom your Majeſty pleaſes—a privilege which is ſometimes
" graciouſly extended even to real and palpable criminals.

" Let it not be recorded in the hiſtory of this country, that
" King George III. or any of his Judges, tranſported men for
" Fourteen Years, becauſe they had dared to ſpeak the ſame words
" upon a ſpeculative ſubject, which, if they were not the im-
" mediate means of advancing his Majeſty's then Prime Miniſter
" to his high ſituation, cauſed his Election to be remarkably
" popular: Let it not be ſaid, that men of education, of refined
" ſentiments, of the moſt virtuous and benevolent characters,
" were ſevered from their deareſt connections, and plunged into
" dungeons with thieves and proſtitutes: Let it not be ſaid, that
" fathers were torn from their wives and children, and ſons from
" their aged parents, becauſe they had the virtue openly to con-
" demn the acknowledged corruptions of Government, and to

" exert

" exert every peaceable means in their power to remove them! " Let it not be ſaid, that it was as great a crime to ſpeak the " TRUTH, as to be guilty of FELONY.

" But rather, O King, let it be recorded, that George III. " had the Wiſdom, the Humanity, and the Juſtice, to ſtep in be- " twixt theſe ſevere and cruel Sentences and their Execution.

" Theſe are our Deſires---theſe our plain Sentiments. We " know they are ſuch as your Majeſty is unaccuſtomed to hear; " but, if they are ſupported by Truth and Reaſon, ſuffer not " the homelineſs of our manner to offend your Majeſty. We " are plain men, and will not flatter a King. If our wiſhes be " attended to, we are perſuaded it will, in ſome good degree, " huſh the murmurs which unreaſonable ſeverity in a Government " never fails to excite; and it may alſo avert that *Storm*, which " it is but too evident has long been awfully gathering, and " which may burſt forth in a moment when your Majeſty " thinks not.

" The Addreſs being read, and received with repeated ap- " plauſes, HENRY YORKE addreſſed the Meeting in ſupport " of the meaſure. He obſerved, that the cauſe for which our " Countrymen were now ſuffering, was the ſame as had been " advocated in the year 1783, by Mr. Pitt, the Duke of " Richmond, and other men, who were at this time Penſioners " and Placemen under the actual Government; that a Con- " vention, for the purpoſe of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, " had been held at the Thatched Houſe Tavern, in which theſe " men went as Delegates, or acted as aſſiſtants; that it was " cruel, if not unjuſt, to puniſh men for following the example " which thoſe in power had ſet them. The queſtion was not a " queſtion of *convenience*, but of *right*.—It was not enough to " ſay, that the People were *formerly* repreſented, but that they " had a *right* to be repreſented *now*. Did the Miniſtry, there- " fore, mean to aſſert, that what was right to-day, was wrong to- " morrow? Did they mean to declare, in the face of the world, " that what was in conformity to the maxims of Juſtice at that " time, ſhould, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, be deemed *unjuſt*, and puniſhed " as a *crime?*

" After

" After having expatiated conſiderably on this very important " ſubject, he proceeded with obſerving, that in all countries " where ſevere and ſanguinary puniſhments were encouraged, " men could have no affection for the Government under which " they lived, and their obedience to it could reſult ſolely from " motives of *fear*. That liberty of opinion could not be denied " to any free country, without denying at the ſame time the " Rights of the People. That nothing argued more ſtrongly " againſt a Government than the uniform deſign of depriving " the People of this liberty; that it was a proof that ſomething " *went wrong*; and that even Governors were aſhamed of their " conduct, when the right of diſcuſſion was violated, or put an " end to. The civil Liberty we enjoyed in our country was the " effect of political diſcuſſion; and its political Liberty would " have long ſince been reſtored and ſecured, if our Rulers had " not interpoſed to weaken or annihilate this right: Firſt, by " giving a power of deciſion to Judges, which the antient law " of the land did not acknowledge: Secondly, by confounding " the truth with the fact of publication: And, thirdly, by having " puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity libels in private caſes, to " prepare the public mind for thoſe ſevere ſentences in public " ones, which diſhonoured and irritated the Nation. It had " been lately the faſhion to confound Government with the " Conſtitution, and the Miniſtry with the Government. To " oppoſe, therefore, the mad and wild, if not criminal ſchemes of " Adminiſtration, was to oppoſe Government, and, by this mode " of reaſoning, to oppoſe Government was to be an enemy to the " Conſtitution. A Government can never give a more authentic " proof of its propenſion to Tyranny, and of the impropriety, " as well as impolicy of its meaſures, than by reſtraining or " forbidding the liberty of diſcuſſing publicly matters of legiſ- " lation and policy. It is debaſing the character of man, as an " intellectual being, to deny him the right of enquiring into " that which even Governors allow was made for his uſe, namely " Government.

" To puniſh inquiry, ſeverity is exerciſed for imaginary guilt. " But what is the effect? Miſchief is prolific: Violence in " government

" government begets reſentment in the people, who murmur and
" exclaim: Government is provoked, and ſtudies vengeance.
" When one act of vengeance is expoſed, more always follow.
" Affection is loſt on both ſides; and, what is worſe, is irre-
" coverable. Hatred begins; and the government and the
" people being at variance, conſider each other no longer as
" magiſtrate and ſubject, but as mutual enemies. Hence the
" inhuman wiſh of Caligula, that he could murder all the people
" at one blow. The ſequel is in order: He is continually
" deſtroying them; they are continually wiſhing him deſtroyed.
" Such conduct had the fatal tendency of cramping the genius
" of men, and of replunging the nation into a ſtate of barbariſm
" with regard to their Religion, their Laws, their Morals, and
" their Government, and to keep them ignorant of the moſt
" important concerns in their trade, their ſplendor, their felicity;
" whilſt all the nations around them were improving themſelves
" in morals and policy, by the daring efforts and concurrence
" of enlightened men, whoſe views were directed to thoſe objects
" alone which were really worth their attention. The reaſoning
" of a government, which prohibits information, is defective in
" every particular; its progreſs is not to be ſtopped, nor even
" to be checked, without manifeſt diſadvantage. Prohibition
" has no other effect than to irritate men; to inſpire them with
" an idea of inſurrection, and to give to all their writings a
" libellous tendency. Severe and arbitrary ſentences may *inti-*
" *midate*, but they cannot *convince* a nation. It is by reaſon
" and argument alone, oppoſed to apparent reaſon and apparent
" argument, that a government can hope to be victorious over
" its internal enemies, or render itſelf permanent by the quiet
" and conſcientious concurrence of all its Citizens. It is doing
" too much honor to innocent ſubjects to be alarmed at a few
" pages of writing, or at a few fugitive orations, when barracks
" are erected in a country, and 60,000 armed mercenaries are
" ready to execute the mandates of government. Experience
" had proved, that the rigorous proſecutions which had lately
" taken place throughout England, and that the cruel ſentences
" which had diſgraced the capital of Scotland, had not anſwered

" the

" the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing arbitrary power, and of cruſhing
" the rebellion of honeſt minds. Although there is no ſpirit ſo
" erect and independent as not to be broken by the long con-
" tinuance of the ſilent and inglorious ſufferings of a jail; yet
" it had been found, that men were proud to ſtep forward in this
" moſt ſtormy ſeaſon, when ſuch terrible examples of legal
" vengeance had been held up before them, to plead the antient
" rights of their country, to unmaſk the infamy, intrigue, and
" murderous projects of adminiſtration, and, according to the
" principles of the pureſt benevolence, to aſſert the liberty of
" the whole human race. The preſent times bore a ſtrong
" and marked reſemblance to thoſe terrific ages when prieſts
" held their dominion over the minds and conſciences of men,
" and when they endeavoured to eſtabliſh the reign of intolerance
" and orthodoxy amidſt flakes of fire, and ſtreams of human
" blood. All hiſtory had evinced, that every attempt to curb
" and bridle the expanſion of the human mind had been in-
" effectual; it had evinced, that opinions, though ſmothered for
" a time, burſt forth with redoubled fury, and were victorious
" over power; it had evinced the triumph of Reaſon and Truth
" over Prejudice and Superſtition, and that Liberty, whether of
" opinion or perſon, however ſlow in its progreſs, had uniformly
" moved forward towards its deſtined goal; and that even, at
" this moment, the interruptions which had been oppoſed to it in
" our own country, although they might be injurious to indi-
" viduals, would finally obtain, confirm, and eſtabliſh the rights
" of the people. Conſcious of their uprightneſs, the Friends of
" Freedom had perſevered in their noble cauſe, unappalled by the
" influence of ſpies and informers, and by the threats of a corrupt,
" a crazy, and wicked adminiſtration. In ſo doing, they had
" acted in perfect conformity to the principles of virtue, without
" which no man could be a friend to his country, and a lover of
" mankind. Its eſſence conſiſted in the regulation of our conduct
" by ſuch moral axioms as are beſt calculated to promote the
" general happineſs of our fellow-creatures; and as it frequently
" happened, that the happineſs of the individual ſtood in direct
" oppoſition to that of the public, it is the perfection of virtue in

" individuals to ſacrifice their own happineſs to that of the public.
" A man, in poſſeſſion of this virtuous principle, feels delight
" whilſt actually burning in the brazen bull of Phalaris; and
" ſuch, he truſted, was the actuating principle of thoſe generous
" patriots, who are become willing victims of the moſt barbarous
" and ſavage ſentences that ever had been pronounced in Britain;
" who had made a glorious ſtand againſt arbitrary power, and
" who broke looſe from the fondeſt endearments of human life,
" in the hope of redeeming their loſt Country from the fangs of
" a dark and brooding prejudice, and from the horrors and tur-
" pitude of an ignominious ſlavery.

" It was the tyranny of the Britiſh government which drove
" William Penn, with the philoſophic people called Quakers, to
" the delectable regions of Penſylvania, where, by toleration,
" induſtry, and permanent credit, they revived the ſimplicity of
" the primitive ages of ſociety. It was the ſame tyranny which
" has driven into voluntary exile, or forced by law into baniſh-
" ment, the moſt virtuous of men, the firſt of philoſophers, the
" moſt exalted and courageous band of Patriots that ever honoured
" the ſoil of Britain. Among the former Joſeph Prieſtly, one of
" the moſt profound philoſophers of the age, and moſt meek and
" amiable of citizens, claims the ſad pre-eminence; and among
" the latter, ſtand the names of thoſe perſecuted Patriots, in
" whoſe behalf we are now about to addreſs the executive
" magiſtrate of our country—a noble and a generous band,
" whoſe ſufferings do not claim our pity, becauſe they boil up
" our rage; whoſe ſentences diſgraced thoſe who pronounced
" them, not thoſe on whom they were pronounced; whoſe
" condition is enviable, becauſe honourable, and to the whole of
" whoſe opinions and conduct, no good man, or honeſt citizen,
" can give one diſſentient voice! In times like theſe, when a
" man is mocked and inſulted, becauſe he bears the name of a
" Patriot, an epithet once honoured by the people of England;
" at a time when thoſe who have the courage and magnanimity
" not to flatter their country, are deſerted, betrayed, and per-
" ſecuted, what honours are ſufficient for thoſe who thunder
" truth againſt tyranny? What diſgrace ought not to await thoſe

" timid

" timid beings, thoſe *negative* patriots, who keep aloof from the " ſcene of action, and riot on their country's wrongs? When " our Nation ſhall be regenerated, theſe perſecuted men will " wear civic crowns. In the political, as in the moral world, " the friend who appears to ſoothe our diſtreſſes, excites our " eſteem; and he who, in calamitous times that try men's ſouls, " ſacrifices intereſt, friends, and home, in order to ſave his " ſinking Country, merits well, not only of every Briton, but " of all mankind, and even of the government under which he " lives.

" Fellow-Citizens, the day is at length arrived, when fana- " ticiſm and ſuperſtition, deprived of their tinſel trappings, and " expoſed, in their native uglineſs, to the view of mankind, " ſlink ſcowling back to the cave of obſcurity; there I hope they " will for ever remain. The energy of Engliſhmen will no " longer endure this ſtrange uproar of injuſtice. I truſt my " countrymen are ſick of religious and political impoſture; and " that their deciſive and manly conduct will command, in an " imperious tone which will take no denial, not a melioration of " theſe enormous abuſes, which would be to compromiſe with in- " juſtice; but I truſt they will demand the annihilation of cor- " ruptions and abuſes, and a reſtitution of the original rights of " human nature. I aſk of our governors, this plain queſtion, " Is it better that the people ſhould be in a conſtant ſtate of " ſtupidity, than that they ſhould be ſometimes turbulent?— " Miniſters of State, if ye mean to be wicked, ſuffer the people " to write and ſpeak; you will find men corrupt enough to ſerve " you according to your evil deſires, and who will improve you " in the art of Sejanus. If you mean to be good, permit them " to write, you will find ſome honeſt men who will improve you " in the art of a Turgot. How many things are ye ſtill ignorant " of, before you can become great either in good or in evil. " I ſee no glory, no advantage, no pleaſure, no ſafety, in any man " reigning as a Sultan over ſlaves. Such a horrid pre-eminence " tarniſhes the luſtre of the moſt exalted ſtation. It is, beſides, " precarious, for Sultans are frequently depoſed, and vengeance " wreaked upon them.

" I need not invite you, fellow citizens, to feel for any human " being who ſuffers, much leſs need I ſolicit your approof of " the preſent meaſure, after the general teſtimony of ſatisfaction " you have given of it. You are too enlightened to need the " aid of any inſtruction from me, and your underſtandings are " too much awakened to require that your paſſions ſhould be " played upon. Whilſt the unerring tribunal of poſterity ſhall " condemn with ſcorn and deriſion, with execration and diſguſt, " thoſe inhuman beings who have been the cauſes of ſuch un- " exampled and inhuman ſeverity, our perſecuted brethren will " obtain a verdict of honour and glory. I may venture to ſay, " that, beloved by the preſent age, future ages ſhall heap around " their monuments trophies of undying fame; and an exaſperated " and repentant people, ſhall enrol their names in the volume of " hiſtory, which records alſo the names of Sidney, Hampden, " and Locke!"

" The following Reſolutions were then read three times over, " and with the exception of one or two perſons, were unani- " mouſly adopted:

" 1. That the People, being the true and only ſource of " Government, the freedom of ſpeaking and writing upon any " Subject, cannot be denied to the Members of a free Govern- " ment, without offering the groſſeſt Inſult to the Majeſty of the " People.

" 2. That therefore the Condemnation of Citizens Muir, " Palmer, Skirving, Margarott, and Gerrald, to Tranſportation, " for expoſing the Corruptions of the Britiſh Government, was " an Act better ſuited to the Maxims of a deſpotic than a free " Government.

" 3. That the Addreſs which has now been read, be preſented " to the King, in Behalf of the above perſecuted Patriots.

" On the ſecond Reſolution being propoſed, an hiſs was heard " from different parts of the meeting, in conſequence of one or " two perſons holding up their hats againſt it; on obſerving " which, H. YORKE thus addreſſed the meeting:

" FELLOW

" FELLOW CITIZENS,

" As your Chairman, I call you to order. As an individual, " I muſt obſerve, that this hiſſing is repugnant to the principle of " toleration or freedom, which we wiſh to ſee eſtabliſhed. We " have this moment read, and given our aſſent to, an Addreſs to " the King in favour of liberty of opinion; let it not be ſaid, " that we are the firſt to violate that liberty in others, which we " claim for ourſelves. Opinions will always vary, even amongſt " the wiſeſt and beſt of men. We are bound, therefore, to ſhew " tenderneſs to the opinions of others, and compaſſion even to " their prejudices. Let our enemies ſee that we conſecrate by " our example, what we deſire to ſee eſtabliſhed as a principle. " Hiſſes do not convince; they tend only to irritate the minds, " and to beget the ill-will of our fellow-citizens: let us, on the " contrary, confront them with the weapons of Reaſon and " Truth, the only logic of liberal minds. Every thing which has " a tendency to ſtir up the paſſions without awakening the " underſtanding, is unbecoming of freemen, or of men who " would be free."

" Theſe well-timed obſervations had the good effect of pre- " venting any further ſigns of intolerance; and the utmoſt de- " corum prevailed throughout the conduct of the buſineſs.

" It was next moved, " that a *Petition* be preſented to the " Houſe of Commons, for a Reform in the Repreſentation of the " People in Parliament:" but ſo marked was the diſapprobation " given by the whole meeting to this meaſure, that not one " ſingle perſon *ſeconded* the motion; but a moſt profound ſilence, " interrupted only by a few murmurs, was obſerved: upon " which, HENRY YORKE again roſe, and addreſſed the meeting " in an animated ſpeech of an hour long, and of which it is im- " poſſible for us to give our readers a juſt conception. He took " a general view of the Britiſh Conſtitution, and ſtated its moſt " prominent defects; among which the want of a perfect National " Repreſentation was the moſt glaring. He dwelt a conſiderable " time upon this ſubject, and then proceeded to take a rapid " ſurvey of the exertions which had been made at different

" periods, and by different perſons, to promote the cauſe of " Parliamentary Reform.

" He obſerved that the ſubject was become a mere bugbear, " employed to deceive the people, and worked upon as an " engine to raiſe into power, needy and ambitious men; that the " very ſame men who in Oppoſition had declared that it was " the only meaſure of ſaving the country from ruin, were the " firſt to reprobate and ſcout the meaſure of reform when they " were in Power. From the corruptions of the Britiſh Govern- " ment, parties had been generated, which, in their route to " power, had convulſed and plundered the empire. Under the " diſtinctions of names, principles had been forgotten; and for " the ſake of leaders, whom the people had fooliſhly idolized, the " machine of Government rolled on amidſt the feuds and con- " tentions of party. Eternally the peace of our country had " been diſturbed by the rancour and animoſities of factions, and " the people, inſtead of turning themſelves to correct the groſs " evils which exiſted in it, had ever been the tools of baſe and " deſigning men, and ſeemed prepared to whet and ſharpen their " ſwords one againſt another.

" It was now high time that the people ſhould lay aſide leaders, " diſcard factions, and *act for themſelves*. He ſtrongly inforced " theſe principles, and then entered into a complete detail of the " ancient Conſtitution as eſtabliſhed by Alfred, which he proved " to be at this time totally defaced, if not loſt. He then purſued " the gradual decline of popular liberty in England, from the " anarchy which was the conſequence of Daniſh and Norman " invaſion; and taking a general ſketch of our hiſtory, ſo far " as it was connected with the ſubject of Popular Repreſentation, " he made ſome ſtrong and pointed remarks on the Revolution in " 1688, the object of which, he ſaid, was not, could not be " anſwered, unleſs Annual Parliaments and General Suffrage " were reſtored. For this he had the authority of Lord Somers, " who drew up the Declaration of Rights, and who was pro- " moted by William III. for his popular exertions at that " memorable epoch.

" In

" In order to prove that the Revolution had not correſponded with the expectations of the people, no ſooner was the Prince of Orange eſtabliſhed on the throne of England, than all ideas of the ancient mode of annual Parliaments were effaced, and the TRIENNIAL ACT was paſſed in the very face of that Revolution, and in direct contradiction to its principles; for the Revolution, at leaſt ſo far as it reſpected the people, was not intended to be a compromiſe between the King and the Ariſtocracy, for the joint inheritance of the people, but to eſtabliſh on unequivocal principles the right of the people to govern themſelves, and to recall thoſe delegated powers which they had entruſted to their ſervants for this purpoſe, when they were either abuſed, or neglected to exerciſe them. If the Revolution were not a Revolution for the people, it was no Revolotion at all, but a conſpiracy of a few ennobled oppreſſors againſt the liberties and happineſs of the many. But if it were deſigned to comprehend the people, and its end has been perverted, or purpoſely laid aſide, the people are not warranted in *petitioning*, but are juſtified in *demanding as a Right*, agreeably to the tone of language uſed in the Declaration of Rights, the reſtitution of annual Parliaments, and the eſtabliſhment of univerſal Suffrage. But the ſhock which was given to the ſtability of theſe principles, was moſt infamouſly flagrant, by the enacting of the SEPTENTIAL ACT, in the reign of George I. If the Act of Parliament in the reign of Henry VI. eraſed from the roll of citizenſhip ſome of the beſt members of the community; the enacting of the Triennial and Septennial Acts, filled up to the brim the meaſure of governmental iniquity, and poured forth the waters of bitterneſs throughout our land.

" FELLOW CITIZENS,

" Enough of precedent. The human race has long been rolling down the tide of ages neglected, unpitied and oppreſſed: It is high time that the devious courſe of human policy ſhould not be left to the uncertain iſſue of ſtorms and of elemental wars; but that the machine of ſtate ſhould be guided by the

" polar ſtar of Reaſon alone, which is never ſeen but when the " Majeſty of the People is reſplendent. What is beneficial in " the example of ages, we ought to reſerve with caution. What " is injurious, and what is only *tolerably* competent to anſwer the " common purpoſes of ſociety, ought to be aboliſhed. We in- " ſult ourſelves, when we abjectly diſtruſt the powers which na- " ture has given us; nor ought we paſſively to acquieſce in in- " ſtitutions, which, though injurious, may be preferable to thoſe " that may be endured by others. We inſult ourſelves, when " we fooliſhly balance between *tolerable vices* and *poſitive goods*; " between unnatural ſyſtems, and novel, untried, but juſt max- " ims. The human mind is progreſſive, ſo is the ſocial mind. " That the one therefore ſhould remain ſtationary, amid the ra- " pid courſe of the other towards perfection, is a prejudice as un- " natural as it is injurious to the happineſs of man. The go- " vernments of Europe preſent no delectable ſymmetry to the " contemplation of the philoſopher, no enjoyment to the ſatisfac- " tion of the citizen. A vaſt, deformed and cheerleſs ſtructure, " the frightful abortion of haſte and uſurpation, preſents to the " eye of the beholder no ſyſtematic arrangement, no harmonious " organization of ſociety. Chance, haſte, faction, tyranny, re- " bellion, maſſacre, and the hot, inclement action of human " paſſions, have begotten them. Utility never has been the end " of their inſtitution, but partial intereſt has been its fruit. " Such abominable and abſurd forms, ſuch jarring and diſſonant " principles, which chance has ſcattered over the earth, cry aloud " for ſomething more natural, more pure, and more calculated " to promote the happineſs of mankind. Experience muſt re- " gulate the mechaniſm of government, by which I mean not a " narrow and confined, but a liberal and enlightened experience, " which, hearing without paſſion or prejudice, the teſtimony of " ages and nations, collects from it general principles, to further " the progreſs of civilization. It is in hiſtory that we are to " dive for thoſe rich materials of legiſlative experiment, which " are to ameliorate the ſocial order, and repair thoſe breaches " which injuſtice has long ſince made. But if this experience " be found inadequate to the purpoſe of alleviating human miſe-

" ries;

ries; if it afford nothing but the melancholy proſpect of outrageous deſpotiſm; of exceſſive vices on the part of the governing, and debaſement and vaſſalage on that of the governed; if it aſcribe the commotions of ſuffering countries to the deſigns of factions, and not to principles; if it ſhew, that in conſequence of national ignorance, after the firſt ebullitions of revolt, they have ſat down in a torpid calm, and borne with uſurpations ſtill heavier than thoſe by which they were rouſed to arms—it muſt be granted that this experience is important; becauſe it teaches the ſuffering nations of the preſent day, in what manner to prepare their combuſtible ingredients, and Humaniſts in what manner to enkindle them, ſo as to produce, with effect, that grand political exploſion, which, at the ſame time that it buries Deſpotiſm, already convulſive and agoniſing, in ruins, may raiſe up the people to the dignity and ſublime grandeur of Freedom.

" To effect this juſt and uſeful purpoſe, *revolution of ſentiment* muſt precede revolution of government and manners. The popular energies muſt be excited, that the popular voice may be felt and heard. The people muſt grow wiſe, in order that the people may rule. It is ſaid we preach anarchy; but what is anarchy, but the eſtabliſhment of confuſion on the wreck of popular opinion? It is ſaid we are levellers; but thoſe are levellers who would wiſh to reduce man to the condition of the brute, guided by paſſion, and uninfluenced by reaſon. Thoſe are levellers whoſe hands are dipped in the public ſpoils; who aſſert impunity for crimes, and inviolability of perſons; who would make humanity take a retrograde motion; who would palſy the arm of juſtice, and defeat the end of equal laws. We have ever diſclaimed the fooliſh idea of *levelling property*; becauſe our own property, the fruit of our labour, or of our talents, might, by the example, be expoſed to the invaſion of the firſt intruder. It were well, if thoſe who confound juſtice with crimes, would conſider that the poor man's property, little as it is, is as precious to him, as is the wealthy ſtock of the rich man. It were well, if feeling the force of this principle, the ariſtocracy would unite with us in the cauſe in which we are

" embarked. Property, they ſay, is ſacred. Is not then the " property of the poor man as ſacred as that of the rich; and " ought it to be filched or forced from him without his conſent, " any more than that of the rich man? Can thoſe who do not re- " ſpect the property of others, expect others to reſpect their pro- " perty? We wiſh to exalt, not to level. We wiſh to better the " condition of the wretched; to equalize men under the influ- " ence of law; but to give to merit, induſtry, talents, patrimony, " virtue, their proper weight and correſpondent dignity in the " ſocial order. Are we then ungovernable, becauſe we reject " miſ-government? Are we ungrateful, becauſe we defend our " liberty and property againſt thoſe who ought to reſpect them? " Are we rebels in maintaining our violated laws againſt thoſe " who are open rebels to laws, and who ſet themſelves above " thoſe laws which they ought to have venerated? I know, that " in all ages of the world, people who would not be oppreſſed " have been reckoned ungovernable by men who are, or who " would be oppreſſors. I know that the enemies of oppreſſion " have always been ſtigmatized as enemies of Government. I " know that it is ſeditious to blame the exceſſes of Power, and " inſolent to mention the inſolence of thoſe who abuſe Power. I " know that it is ſedition to diſtinguiſh between public right and " public wrong, between Government and Tyranny. Nor is " it enough to acknowledge all *good* government to be irreſiſtible; " but the *worſt*, and the abuſe of the *beſt*, muſt be irreſiſtible " alſo. I know that to complain of Tyranny is *faction*, and to " throw it off *rebellion*; but they who oppreſs are the greateſt " *Rebels*, and for the oppreſſed to turn upon them, is but to *reſiſt* " Rebellion—it is but to do a juſt and natural action. Whoever " violates the laws of Reaſon, Equity and Nature, whatever ſta- " tion or name he may bear, is a *Rebel*, ſubject to laws againſt " Tyrants and Rebellion. Tyrants, therefore, and oppreſſors, " are the higheſt and moſt conſummate Rebels in the world— " capital Traitors to God and Man, and puniſhable by all the " laws of God and Man. Amid all the abſurdities and chimeras " of Paganiſm, it was never believed that Tyranny was warrant- " ed by Heaven. It was never believed that the bloody Caligula

" was

" was the vicegerent of God, and that the worſt of men had a
" commiſſion from Heaven to oppreſs the human race. It was
" never believed that murder, rapine, and miſrule, were Govern-
" ment; and that lawleſs and bloody crowned Robbers were
" Governors divinely appointed. It was never believed that ſo-
" ciety had no remedy againſt devouring luſt and the raging
" ſword, which were deſtroying all the ends of ſociety, and even
" ſociety itſelf. Such indignities to God and Man were never
" broached by Pagans; they never propagated doctrines which
" would have turned men into ideots, deſtitute of reflection and
" feeling; into beaſts of burthen and beaſts of ſacrifice; turned
" Heaven into Hell; human ſociety into a chaos of blood and
" carcaſes; and the earth into a place of torments. It never
" entered into the heart of a Greek or a Roman, nor into any
" heart that felt the ſentiments of virtue and humanity, that
" it was unlawful to defend Nature; a crime to ward off mur-
" der, barbarity, and deſolation; and an impiety to do the moſt
" godlike action which can be done on this ſide Heaven, that of
" diſarming Tyrants, and of ſaving our country from periſhing.
" Government is doubtleſs a ſacred thing, and juſtly claims our
" reverence and duty; but when Government is general oppreſ-
" ſion; when havoc, ſpoil and perſecution prevail, to the de-
" ſtruction of all who do well; when law and juſtice are baniſh-
" ed, and military deſpotiſm triumphs; when property is attack-
" ed and ſeized without the conſent of its owner, and lives are
" wantonly deſtroyed!—is this Government too? If it be, tell
" me what is not Government? I do not think, in an age like
" this, that the people of this, or any country, can ever be ſo ſunk
" or deadened by oppreſſion, but that repeated provocation will
" raiſe a ſpirit amongſt them capable of accompliſhing the grea-
" eſt projects. Even the moſt profeſſed and degraded ſlaves, the
" people of Turkey, often rouſe themſelves, and caſting their
" proud rider to the earth, trample him to death. A little ſpark
" often kindles a great flame, and a flame ſoon ſpreads to a con-
" flagration. An ignorant nation rouſed to aſſert its liberties,
" will be mad and furious; for when men are uſed like beaſts,
" they will act like beaſts! But when an enlightened people,

" knowing

" knowing their rights, are reduced to a ſtate of degradation, they " will know that their condition cannot be worſe, but, by their " own efforts, their condition muſt be better. An ignorant peo- " ple, incited by repeated injury to ſhake off the load of injuſ- " tice, will riſk unſeen evils and calamities—will riſk even a civil " war to be revenged on their oppreſſors. Such was the temper " of the Romans upon the revolt of Sacrovir—they even exulted " in it, and in hatred to Tiberius, wiſhed ſucceſs to the public " enemy. Such were the injured people of Spain, who, when " the Romans came, joyfully received them as their deliverers " from the tyrannous yoke of Carthage. But an enlightened " people will never ſully the victories of patriotiſm by ſuch irre- " gular conduct. Revenge will never be adopted as a principle. " Peace will actuate their demeanour, and they will glory in " awaiting the ſlow proceſs of univerſal information, as a prelude " to univerſal emancipation, rather than tarniſh the career of li- " berty, by involving their country in ſcenes of terror, waſte and " depredation. Oppreſſed Nature will, at a proper ſeaſon, de- " part from paſſive principle; and ſhould an attempt be made to " wreſt what remains of liberty from us, I truſt all men will con- " cur to vindicate their violated rights—for, if the attempt be ſuf- " fered once, it will be often repeated. A few repetitions create " a habit, and habit will claim preſcription and right. For Go- " vernors to be omnipotent, the race of man muſt be extinct; " and no argument for deſtroying Anarchy can be uſed, but what " is full as ſtrong for the overthrow of Tyranny. It is difficult " to reſtore public affairs, when once diſconcerted, to their for- " mer ſteady principle—numbers will engage in the corruption, " and will try every art and power to ſupport it, and they will " continue to do ſo, until Nature, which is always uppermoſt in " man, ſigns their tragical doom!

" CITIZENS,

" I repeat my former aſſertion. Go on as you hitherto have " done, in the culture of reaſon. Diſſeminate throughout the " whole of your country, that knowledge which is ſo neceſſary to " man's happineſs, and which you have yourſelves acquired.

" Teach

" Teach your children and your countrymen the ſacred leſſons of " virtue, which are the foundations of all human polity. Teach " them to reſpect themſelves, and to love their country. Teach " them to do unto all men as they would that they ſhould do unto " them, and their love ſhall not be confined to their country, but " ſhall extend to the whole human race. When ſuch a revoluti- " on of ſentiment ſhall have diſperſed the miſts of prejudice; when " by the inceſſant thunderings from the preſs, the meaneſt cot- " tager of our country ſhall be enlightened, and the ſun of reaſon " ſhall ſhine in its fulleſt meridian over us; then the command- " ing voice of the whole people ſhall *recommend* the five hundred " and fifty-eight Gentlemen in St. Stephen's Chapel, to go about " their buſineſs.

" The following reſolutions were next read, and unanimouſly " approved of, amidſt the loudeſt applauſes.

" 4. That in every country where the people have no ſhare " in their Government, *taxation* is *tyranny*.

" 5. That therefore a Government is tyrannical or free, in " proportion as the people are equally, or unequally, repre- " ſented.

" 6. Convinced of this truth, it is the opinion of this Meeting, " that the people ought to demand as a *right*, and not petition as " a *favour*, for Univerſal Repreſentation.

" 7. That therefore we will petition the Houſe of Commons no more on this ſubject."

Read from " An Addreſs to the Britiſh Nation," *from the firſt page (page 27 of the pamphlet) and from page* 34 *to* 36.

" *An Addreſs to the Britiſh Nation.*

" FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

" We have heard this day decided, with the exception of only " one diſſentent voice, that the Houſe of Commons ſhall ne- " ver again be *petitioned* by us, on the ſubject of Parliamentary " Reform.

" We owe to the nation, to poſterity, even to foreign countries, " and to the government itſelf under which we live, an expoſition

" of

" of our motives: To the nation we owe this duty, becauſe we " are of opinion, that THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE " PEOPLE, SHOULD BE, AT ALL TIMES, THE SUPREME LAW; " and that if the *few* diſſent from the opinion of the *many*, how- " ever oblig tory the will of the majority may be to them as a " rule of action, yet opinion is always free and ſacred, the right " of man to enjoy, and the conſcientious duty of man to diffuſe. " Under the full conviction of this principle, we feel ourſelves, " *at preſent*, the minority, becauſe we are the firſt to agitate the " queſtion, and to repel the monſtrous idea of petitioning when " our petitions are not received by the Houſe of Commons. " But, we are numerous—we are many thouſands; and as " nothing opens the eyes of men ſo much as their intereſts, we " demand, Fellow-citizens, nay, we are entitled to it from our " numbers, that you lend an attentive ear to the truths we are " about to utter, and to the reclamations we are about to make " in favour of oppreſſed humanity.

" Our petition was received with the utmoſt indignation by " the Houſe of Commons; which was no more than we ex- " pected. We knew that the homely truths we uttered, would " be very unwelcome gueſts in that houſe. We never expected " that a body in which there were ſo many Placemen and Pen- " ſioners, would liſten to the palpable facts ſtated in that " petition; the object of which was to root out injuſtice, and " to curb licentiouſneſs and corruption. Nevertheleſs, as we were " called upon by our countrymen to unite with them, we thought " ourſelves bound to comply with their wiſhes. And, although " our petition was diſdainfully rejected, becauſe not couched in " language ſufficiently polite and reſpectful for the *five hundred* " *and fifty-eight Gentlemen* who ſit at the Houſe of Commons, " yet, believe us, FELLOW-CITIZENS, we are ſtill of opinion, " that the matter it contained, was not only juſt and proper, but " we think, that even the language, which gave ſo much offence " to the *honorable Gentlemen*, was much too polite and too mode- " rate for us. For, if the Houſe of Commons were the real " Repreſentatives of the People, we certainly had a right to *dictate*, " and not to *petition*, becauſe they could be conſidered in no other

" light

" light than as the organs of the public will. And, if they re-
" fuſed to obey that will, they would be uſurpers, and not repre-
" ſentatives. If, on the contrary, they are not the Repreſen-
" tatives of the people, what have we to do with them? If they
" are not our Repreſentatives, we cannot be their Conſtituents;
" and to *petition* thoſe who are not our Repreſentatives as our
" Repreſentatives, would be a manifeſt abſurdity, if not an inſult
" and mockery of ourſelves. However, the petition, ſuch as it
" was, being termed diſreſpectful, was thrown out by a majority
" of 79, there being 29 only who voted for its being received,
" and 108 who voted againſt it. Such imperious treatment
" rather gives *warning* than ſtrikes *terror*. The abuſe of repre-
" ſentation can never come in the place of a rule, for no legal
" power can be derived from injury or injuſtice. On this
" ground alone, therefore, we are juſtified in preſerving a ſullen
" ſilence in reſpect to the Houſe of Commons. For, if grie-
" vances, abuſes, complaints, and truth, are to be diſcarded
" from that Houſe, becauſe not dreſſed in a *gentleman-like* lan-
" guage, how are we, plain mechanics, ever to obtain redreſs,
" who are not *gentlemen*, and who are, conſequently, ignorant
" of thoſe polite and courtly expreſſions which are neceſſary to
" gain a hearing in that Houſe. We are ignorant of the art of
" diſplaying truth by halves, and, as we love plain dealing our-
" ſelves, we deteſt hypocriſy in others, and pity thoſe who would
" wiſh us to follow their example. We ſaid to the Houſe of
" Commons, we are wronged and aggrieved—will you right us,
" and redreſs our grievances, or will you not? If you will, we
" ſhall be ſatisfied; if you will not, we ſhall ſeek redreſs ſome
" other way. This is the ſole queſtion with us, and we put it,
" as we thought, in a moſt becoming ſtyle to the Houſe of Com-
" mons. But, our *petition* being ſcouted, we ſhall trouble them
" no more with our coarſe and unmannerly language. It will be
" our duty to proceed, as we have uniformly done hitherto, in
" enlightening the public mind; and, when a compleat revo-
" lution of ſentiment ſhall take place (as will ſhortly be the caſe)
" in our country, we ſhall open our mouths, in that key we think
" moſt agreeable to ourſelves; and our voice, together with

" that of our disfranchiſed countrymen, will reſemble, perhaps,
" the thunderings from Mount Sinai!

" Yes, Countrymen, we demand Equality of Rights, in which
" is included Equality of Repreſentation, without which terror
" is law, and the obligations of juſtice are weakened; becauſe,
" unſanctioned by the ſacred voice of the people. We are not
" ſpeaking of that viſionary Equality of Property, the practical
" aſſertion of which would deſolate the world, and replunge it
" into the darkeſt and wildeſt barbariſm; but that Equality we
" claim, is to make the Slave a Man, the Man a Citizen, and
" the Citizen an integral part of the State; to make him a joint
" Sovereign, and not a ſubject; to oblige Law, which ought to
" be an emanation from the general will, to ſhed its influence,
" without diſtinction, over the heads of all, and to reſtrain or ſtrike
" the wealthy plunderer equally with the more homely offender.
" We wiſh to give rights to him who has none, and a country
" to him who wants one. We wiſh to upſet the idol of injuſtice,
" which has poured forth, from its exalted throne, a deluge of
" ſorrow, and flooded the world with the tears and the blood of
" its inhabitants. We deſire to ſee Wiſdom demanding of
" miſerable millions their wants, and Humanity at hand to ſupply
" them. We deſire to ſee the ſanctuary of Virtue erected, and
" the ſtandard of Liberty planted in our land, around which the
" people may rally as to an Holy of Holies. In ſhort, we deſire
" to ſee the altar of Equality blazing in Britain, whoſe ſtreams
" of fire, whilſt they ſhall ſhock, convulſe, and tear down the
" rotten pillars of prejudices; whilſt they ſhall conſume Tyrants,
" and terrify public delinquents, ſhall pierce into the hearts of
" the whole People, and confirm the wide empire of Morals on
" the wreck of Superſtition and Vice. Such is our Equality,
" and ſuch is the Equality which we proudly gratulate our Coun-
" trymen, will ſhortly be eſtabliſhed in Britain, and which we
" invite you, PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND, to partake of.—The
" banks of the Forth, the fields of Bannockburn and Culloden,
" and that Tribunal of Edinburgh, which has diſgraced your
" capital, ſhall yet bear teſtimony to the cauſe for which
" FLETCHER wrote, and WALLACE bled."

Two

Two Envelopes, in each of which was incloſed a Copy of the Proceedings of the Public Meeting, held at Sheffield, on the 7th of April, 1794, were read; one addreſſed "To Mr. *Vaughan, "* Eſq. *Counſellor at Law," the other "To the Honourable Charles "Fox."*

William Broomhead, Croſs-examined by *Mr. Gibbs.*

Q. You ſaid, about the time theſe pikes were talked about, there had been a miſchievous hand-bill circulated, for the purpoſe, as you ſuppoſe, of exciting the people againſt the ſociety, can you tell me what was the general ſubſtance of it?

A. I had one in my hand, but cannot ſpeak to every thing it contained.

Q. But what was the general ſubſtance of it?

A. It was a call to the people to arm againſt foreign and internal enemies, and the reply which was made to it was couched in the ſame language.

Q. That was the firſt thing that was publiſhed; at what time was it publiſhed; before or after this meeting that you ſpeak of?

A. I do not recollect the exact time, but I read them both, and ſhould have been happy if I had had them both here.

Q. But you ſay the object of it was to provoke the people?

A. It was given out, by various people in the town of Sheffield, we can never do any thing againſt theſe people, againſt the ſociety, till we ourſelves cauſe a riot.

Q. Theſe people meant the ſociety?

A. Yes; and I ſaw myſelf ſeveral perſons ride up and down, round the Market-place, full gallop, to ride over people, when, at the ſame time, it was only boys.

Q. The cry was, they could never do any thing with you; unleſs they cauſed a riot againſt you, they could make nothing of it?

A. It has been ſaid ſo, but I cannot recollect who ſaid it; but this wicked hand-bill appearing, without the ſanction of the law, or the Magiſtrate, I read it; and, if I had been aware of

this, I would have brought it;---this was the cauſe of any thing being ſpoken concerning arms.

Q. Among all the converſation you have ever heard upon the ſubject of theſe pikes, were they intended for the purpoſe of making an attack upon any power in this country, or only for defending yourſelves, if you ſhould be attacked?

A. I never underſtood them in any other light, and what was ſaid about them was in anſwer to this wicked hand-bill. There was neither Mr. Wilkinſon's name, nor Mr. Althorp's, nor any gentleman's name in the town, to it.

Q. Whether you ever collected, from thoſe who talked of pikes, or ever produced any, that they meant to make any attack upon any of the powers in this country, or only to defend themſelves, if they were illegally attacked?

A. This was the very truth; to oppoſe illegal force, and direct violation of the law of the land, made upon us, as was done at Mancheſter and at Birmingham.

Q. Then they were meant only to be uſed on the defenſive?

A. Mr. Gale had this hand-bill in his hand, when he firſt mentioned the pikes at this meeting, or in his pocket; and there were ſeveral reſolves printed in his paper the week following, and direct anſwers thereto, mentioning ſomething upon the matter. I would have brought them both with me, if I had been apprehenſive of this.

Q. Had any of the people in this ſociety to which you belonged, any idea of making any attack upon either the King, or the Houſe of Lords; had they any idea of altering the government in that reſpect?

A. I think they ought to be ſent to Bedlam, if they had.

Q. Had you, as one of that ſociety, any ſuch intention yourſelf?

A. Juſt the ſame as flying to the ſun.

Q. But to ſpeak plain; by that you mean, I ſuppoſe, that you never had any ſuch thought in your mind?

A. No; never.

Q. What

Q. What was it that you wiſhed to produce by theſe meetings of yours?

A. To enlighten the people; to ſhew the people the reaſon, the ground of all their complaints and ſufferings; when a man works hard for thirteen or fourteen hours of the day, the week through, and is not able to maintain his family; that is what I underſtood of it; to ſhow the people the ground of this; why they were not able.

Q. Was not the object of your meeting a Parliamentary Reform?

A. Yes, it was; and as ſuch we correſponded with the Society of the Friends of the People, as well as the Conſtitutional Society.

Q. Who were the members of the Friends of the People?

A. There were ſeveral communications, I know, received from that Society.

Q. Mr. Stuart, I believe was the ſecretary?

A. Yes.

Q. Should you have continued a member of this Society, if you had thought that they had any intent of ſhaking either the King, or the Lords, or of diſplacing the King from his throne?

A. No.

Q. You would not?

A. No.

Q. Should you not have abhorred ſuch an idea?

A. Yes, yes.

Q. Have you any reaſon, from any thing that ever paſſed in the Society, to believe there was a ſingle member of it who entertained ſuch a notion?

A. No; and I do not believe there is ſuch a wicked man amongſt them.

Q. The object of your meeting, you ſay, was to ſtate to the people the grounds of certain evils which you thought to exiſt; and wiſhed to bring about a Parliamentary Reform—Was that a Parliamentary Reform in the Houſe of Commons?

A. In the Houſe of Commons.

 Q. You

Q. You meant that the King and the Lords ſhould remain as they were; but that there ſhould be a Reform in the Houſe of Commons?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you believe, and was that the ground upon which you acted, that by producing ſuch Reform as you wiſhed in the Houſe of Commons, that thoſe evils would be remedied?

A. That the King, the Lords, and Commons, might themſelves, with the concurrence of the nation, remedy theſe evils—As to reforming, as to the expenditure, and other matters, we had not the vanity to think of ſuch a thing.

Q. Then do I underſtand you right, when I ſuppoſe this to have been your principle—that you thought the King, and the Lords, with the Houſes of Commons, ſo reformed, would redreſs all your grievances?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it your object to attain this end peaceably?

A. There is no one doubts it in Sheffield, that will ſpeak honeſtly.

Q. I ſpeak of your own particular object—Your object was to attain it peaceably?

A. It was.

Q. Have you any reaſon to think it was the object of any other man in the Society, to uſe any but peaceable means to obtain it.

A. Not to my knowledge—what perſons might do, had any thing happened, as a Convention being called, we cannot tell for their wickedneſs.

Mr. Gibbs. Repeat that anſwer.

A. Had there been a Convention, thoſe ſocieties that ſent them, I ſuppoſe, would have put confidence in them, and in their conſultations, ſuppoſing them to be competent to deviſe and direct the means to the end for a Parliamentary Reform—I underſtand it in that light.

Q. When that meeting was had, to be ſure no man can anſwer for the acts of thoſe who ſhould compoſe it—certainly not; but had you any reaſon to ſuppoſe, that thoſe whom you ſhould ſend

to

to that meeting would act otherwiſe than peaceably, would you have ſent any whom you did not think would have acted peaceably?

A. No; thoſe would have acted peaceably that we ſhould have ſent; we ſhould have ſent none elſe but ſuch.

Q. And you have no reaſon to think that others would have acted otherwiſe than peaceably?

A. No; I have no reaſon to think ſo whatever.

Q. When National Repreſentation was talked of by Mr. Yorke at this Meeting, by National Repreſentation, was it not meant the Repreſentation of the People of England in the Houſe of Commons?

A. I always underſtood it ſo for my part.

William Broomhead,

Re-examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. I could wiſh to aſcertain whether I have taken you correctly—you meant, and as far as you underſtand, your Society meant to produce a Reform of the Repreſentation of the People in the Commons Houſe of Parliament by peaceable means?

A. Yes.

Q. But you apprehended, that when you ſhould depute your delegates to a Convention, that you truſted to that Convention, and that what might then be done you could not anſwer for, not being able to anſwer for the wickedneſs of individuals—Did I take you correctly?

A. Yes.

Q. For the purpoſe of obtaining this deſirable object of a Parliamentary Reform, you ſay you correſponded not only with the Conſtitutional Society, but with other Societies; and among them, you have named a Society called, a Society of the Friends of the People?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know the anſwer which that Society returned to your's as early as the 26th of May?

A. I do not now recollect the anſwer.

 Q. Per-

Q. Perhaps I may aſſiſt your memory, by reminding you of the reply of your ſecretary to that Society?

A. Perhaps it might not be me.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Aſhton?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he ever act as Secretary to your Society?

A. Yes.

Q. You have ſaid that your object, and, as far as you know, the object of your Society, was to obtain a Reform by peaceable means, and by enlightening the public—I aſk you, if you do not know, that upon the Society of the Friends of the People returning ſome anſwer to your Society, that your Society wrote, by means of Aſhton, your ſecretary, diſclaiming any farther communication with the Society of the Friends of the People, as unfit for your purpoſe?

A. That he might do—this I cannot ſay; but I do not know of a certainty that he did; becauſe great part of the time when he was ſecretary, I had no concern with the Society.

Q. Was the meaſure of diſcarding this Society of the Friends of the People, as unfit for your purpoſes, diſcuſſed in your committees?

A. I do not recollect its being diſcuſſed in a Committee.

Q. Was it diſcuſſed in any meeting of the Diviſions?

A. Not in thoſe meetings of the Diviſions I have been ſpeaking of.

Q. Was it in any meetings?

A. Yes, it may have been—I do not recollect that it was.

Q. That anſwer wont ſuit me—I aſk, whether in any meetings of your Society, the propriety of having nothing farther to do with this Society, the Friends of the People, becauſe they would not go the lengths that made them fit for your communication, was ever diſcuſſed?

A. That was diſcuſſed.

Q. Was the reſult of that diſcuſſion communicated to your aſſociated Society, the Conſtitutional Society, that this Society, the Friends of the People, whatever they profeſſed to do, were

not

not fit perſons for your having any thing more to do with them?

A. I do not know that ſuch a letter was communicated, nor ſuch a letter received.

Q. I do not aſk you, whether you know that ſuch a letter was received, or whether you know that ſuch a letter was ſent; but I aſk you, if the reſult of your deliberation was not, that they were unfit for your Society, that the Conſtitutional Society might be ſo informed?

A. Nay, I am not certain that it was the reſult of the determination of that meeting; I rather think that it was determined afterwards, if it was determined at all.

Q. Do you recollect whether Mr. Yorke took any part in that diſcuſſion?

A. No; he was not there then.

Q. Who were the parties?

A. Several perſons ſpoke, among whom I was one.

Q. Have you read the declarations publiſhed by that Society, called the Friends of the People: doubtleſs you have, for your information; or if you have not read them yourſelf, have they been read in your Society?

A. I might have read them—I will not ſay—I believe I might.

Q. Do you not know that in language, to which to be ſure I can do no juſtice, they declared their firm intention, by all conſtitutional and proper means, to produce that very thing which you ſtate to have been your object, a Reform in the Repreſentation of the Commons Houſe of Parliament?

A. Great numbers of people did not believe them—they did not believe them to be honeſt.

Q. However, they had made thoſe profeſſions?

A. Yes; there was ſomething of that.

Q. But that you did not quite believe. Was this, think you, as early as the 26th of May, 1792, that you diſclaimed theſe Friends of the People?

A. It may, I do not recollect the time exactly; I think it might be about that time.

Q. And that was long before Mr. Yorke came among you upon his laſt miſſion?

A. It was.

Q. And of courſe long before all theſe diſcuſſions. Be ſo good as to tell me a little more diſtinctly what this miſchievous handbill was that excited you to arms—I believe it was calling upon people to aſſociate, and to arm againſt foreign invaders and domeſtic enemies?

A. Yes; but not with any magiſtrate's name to it.

Q. But the object was calling upon the people of Sheffield to arm againſt foreign invaders and domeſtic enemies?

A. Yes; and that meeting, when arms were ſpoken of, it was determined, in ſeveral reſolutions, to get thoſe arms for the ſame purpoſe, in reply to that.

Q. Let us ſee that we quite underſtand one another. Did you adopt that handbill, and arm in conſequence of it, or were you alarmed at its being prodigiouſly unconſtitutional, and arm againſt it?

A. I never did.

Q. But the Society?

A. Some few might.

Q. Was that to arm againſt the invaſion of foreign enemies, or protect yourſelves againſt attack from domeſtic enemies?

A. It was couched in words, which were taken and put into reſolves, and adverti ſed in Gale's Paper the next week.

Q. Your Society, after this handbill, calling upon people to arm againſt foreign invaders and domeſtic enemies, took that handbill as their text, commenting upon it, adopting their reſolution, and arming themſelves?

A. Yes, againſt foreign invaders and domeſtic enemies.

Q. Your reaſon for doing this was, that you were afraid of illegal force being uſed againſt you, as had been done at Manchester and at Birmingham. Did you apply to any magiſtrate for protection?

A. It was needleſs till the injury was done.

Q. Give me the facts firſt, and the comment afterwards. Did you

u apply to any magiſtrate, informing him, that you, who were aceable perſons, had been threatened with attacks, and wanted e protection of the civil power?

A. No; why ſhould we till we were attacked.

Q. I am not capable of arguing with you; I ſay that unafftedly. Did you apply to any magiſtrate, informing him, that ıy peaceable perſons had been threatened with attacks, and anted the protection of the civil power?

A. No, not to my knowledge.

Q. But, on the contrary, you publiſhed reſolutions for arming?

A. To that purpoſe, couched in their words.

Q. You had no intention at all of altering the Government, ut of applying to the Houſe of Commons to redreſs the grievanes, under which the people ſuffered?

A. I always underſtood it in that light.

Q. How early was it that you came to reſolutions in your Soiety to petition the Houſe of Commons no more; for that heſe 558 perſons were too fine Gentlemen for you; and you were not uſed to the courtly language that would ſuit their ears?

A. Theſe were drawn up by Gale and Yorke, and therefore hey were winked at out of complaiſance to them.

Q. And you, who were too rough for the Houſe of Commons, were courtly enough to paſs theſe reſolutions which were propoſed by Yorke and Gale, two of the active members of the Soiety—You ſay the Society winked at them?

A. I ſuppoſe they did, knowing them to be of ſuperior knowedge.

Q. However, paſs them you did?

A. Yes, believing them to be of ſuperior knowledge to ourelves.

Q. The next ſtep was to form a Convention, and by the deegates to procure a full, fair, and equal repreſentation by means f the Convention?

A. There was then at that very time a petition to the King.

Q. About the Slave-trade?

A. Yes, and about a Reform too.

Q. Whether this was a part of theſe reſolutions which paſſed upon

upon the ſubject of arming—" That the landing of Heſſian troops " in this country, a ferocious and unprincipled horde of butchers, " without conſent of Parliament, has a ſuſpicious and alarming " appearance, is contrary to the ſpirit of our conſtitution, and " deſerving of the marked indignation of every Engliſhman"—Was that one of the reſolutions that you paſſed at the time of adopting the reſolution about the handbill?

A. That was paſſed when the lecture was read.

Q. Was that long after the handbill?

A. No; long before.

Q. " That it is high time to be upon our guard, ſince theſe " armed monſters may in a moment be let looſe upon us, and " particularly as the erection of barracks throughout the kingdom " may only have been an introductory meaſure to the filling them " with foreign mercenaries"—Was that one of the reſolutions you paſſed long before the handbill?

A. Some time before; I do not know exactly how long.

Q. Be ſo good as to tell me, as you were to arm at Sheffield, very properly as I agree with you, for the ſake of preventing attacks upon you, whether you communicated to any other parts of the kingdom the ſort of inſtruments with which you meant to arm yourſelves, and your plan of arming?

A. I never did; and I don't know whether any body elſe did or no.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, that you do not now know that your Society communicated plans for arming, the mode of procuring the inſtruments, and the models of the weapons?

A. I never knew a ſyllable of that till I was informed of it before the Privy Council.

Q. Then if Daviſon, in the name of the Society, ſent any ſuch letter to London, you was not in that ſecret?

A. I was not.

Q. You know Daviſon very well?

A. Yes, I knew him ſome little time.

Q. He was a member of the Society?

A. Yes, I ſuppoſe he was.

Q. You have told me, there was no man at Sheffield mad enough

ough to think of altering the Government by force at all—Do u include Daviſon in the number?

A. Well, but at the ſame time, there may be wicked men ong all bodies.

Q. Doubtleſs there may—Do you include Daviſon in the mber of thoſe who you ſay are not to be found in Sheffield, with y bad intention againſt his Majeſty, or the government of the untry?

A. I will ſay this, he did it without the knowledge of the So-:ty, and that he did it without my knowledge.

Q. That is not an anſwer to my queſtion.

A. I have not a doubt of that being proved; but how can I ak to it when I did not know it?

Mr. Attorney General. While we wait for the next witneſs, will read that part of the paper called the Faſt Day, as ob-ved at Sheffield, which relates to the landing the Heſſian troops This was in the year 1794.

The following Extracts were read from a printed Pamphlet, titled,

"FAST DAY, *as obſerved at* SHEFFIELD.

A SERIOUS LECTURE, *delivered at* SHEFFIELD, *Feb.* 28*th*, " 1794, *being the Day appointed for a* GENERAL FAST: *to* " *which are added a* HYMN, *and* RESOLUTIONS.

(From the Beginning to Page 3.*)*

"FAST DAY.

A Royal Proclamation having been iſſued, commanding Febru- " *ary the* 28*th*, 1794, *to be obſerved as a General Faſt, the* " *Friends of* PEACE *and* REFORM, *in Sheffield, determined to* " *honour the Day in the moſt diſtinguiſhed Manner. Accord-* " *ingly the THOUSANDS of that Town aſſembled upon a* " *ſpacious plain near Weſt-ſtreet, Backfields, where the Meet-* " *ing was opened with Prayer; after which a* SERIOUS LEC-" TURE, *ſuitable to the Occaſion, was read with great Energy*

" to

" *to the immenſe Concourſe of People, who liſtened in the moſt* " *attentive Silence. A* HYMN, *prepared for this Solemnity,* " *was then ſung in full Chorus by the whole Aſſembly. Imme-* " *diately after,* WILLLIAM CAMAGE *being called to the* " *Chair, the following Reſolutions were unanimouſly paſſed, and* " *the Meeting diſſolved in that orderly and peaceable Manner;* " *which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes the patriotic Inhabitants of* " *Sheffield.*

" A SERIOUS LECTURE.

" In every age of the world, the cauſe of truth has always met " with its oppoſers, whenever it chanced to claſh with the in- " tereſts of a venal tribe of *Kings, Courtiers, Prieſts,* and their " *accomplices.* By reading over the 18th chapter of 1 Kings, " we find that this was the caſe; yet the Almighty was pleaſed " by an act of *Omnipotent Power,* to overturn the malice and " wicked intentions of that infamous tyrant Ahab, and the Sa- " tellites who ſurrounded him: for, in the preſence of them all " (though it made againſt them) Truth ſhone forth with redou- " bled ſplendour, and the very judgment which Elijah would " probably have met with, had not God been for him, fell on " thoſe abominable *Deceivers of Mankind.* I refer you to the " chapter itſelf, and without further introduction, I ſhall make a " few remarks on the events of that period, as it muſt be obvious, " to every ingenious mind, that there is a great ſimilarity be- " twixt the conduct of the rulers of that day, and thoſe of the " preſent: therefore it may be needful to obſerve,

" Firſt, Baal's prieſts could not poſſibly ſucceed, becauſe he " to whom they prayed could not help them. Baal, being a " name given to an Heathen God, who had no exiſtence except " in the imagination of his devotees. And 2dly, They had a bad " cauſe in hand, therefore, were not likely to prevail; no mo- " tives to induce them but pride; no appetites to ſerve, but what " were ſenſual and deviliſh, ſo that if they had offered ſacrifice " to the true God, in a bad cauſe, they would not have obtained " their end—for 'the ears of the Lord are not open to the cries " of the fooliſh, but unto the wiſe.'

" It is in this point of light, I view, with concern, a combina-

" tion

" tion of Kings apparently leagued againſt the cauſe of Freedom;
" a combination which I believe to be odious in the ſight of
" Heaven, although for its ſupport we are commanded a ſecond
" time from the Throne, not of God, to faſt and pray for the
" ſucceſs of our arms over our brethren, who are ſtruggling for
" every thing that is dear to Man, and which is the will of God
" he ſhould be poſſeſſed of—LIBERTY, *civil*, *political*, and *re-*
" *ligious*. Life without them is a burden."

(Page 11, RESOLUTIONS, *&c.)*

" RESOLUTIONS.

" RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

" 1. That War, the wretched artifice of Courts, is a Syſtem
" of Rapine and Blood, unworthy of rational beings, and utterly
" repugnant to the mild and benevolent principles of the Chriſtian
" Religion.

" 2. That if the preſent war, be a war of Combined Kings
" againſt the people of France, to overthrow that Liberty which
" they are ſtruggling to eſtabliſh, it is, in our opinion, a war of
" the moſt diabolical kind.

" 3. That when public Faſts and Humiliations are ordered
" with the ſame breath, which commands the ſhedding of oceans
" of Human Blood—however they may anſwer the purpoſes of
" State Policy—they are ſolemn proſtitutions of Religion.

" 4. That the landing of Heſſian troops in this country (a fe-
" rocious and unprincipled horde of Butchers) without conſent
" of Parliament, has a ſuſpicious and alarming appearance, is
" contrary to the ſpirit of our Conſtitution, and deſerving of the
" marked indignation of every Engliſhman.

" 5. That it is high time to be upon our *Guard*, ſince theſe
" armed monſters may in a moment be let looſe upon us; parti-
" cularly, as the erection of barracks throughout the kingdom
" may only have been an introductory meaſure to the filling them
" with Foreign Mercenaries.

" 6. That the high and free-born minds of Britons, revolt at
" the

" the idea of ſuch a Slaviſh Syſtem, and cannot be ſo far broken,
" as to kiſs the hand which would chain them to its will.

" 7. That Peace and Liberty are the offspring of Heaven, and
" that *Life* without them is a burden.

" 8. That the Thanks of this Meeting are due to Earl Stan-
" hope, for his Motion and ſpirited Speech for acknowledging
" the French Republic, and reſtoring *Peace* to our diſtreſſed
" country; for his Motions and able Speech in behalf of the
" perſecuted and ſuffering patriots, Meſſrs. Muir, Palmer, Skir-
" ving, and Margarot, in which he nobly ſtood alone; and alſo
" for the whole of his truly animated and benevolent exertions in
" ſupport of the injured *Rights of the People.*

" 9. The Thanks of this Meeting are alſo due to Mr. Sheri-
" dan, for his nervous and eloquent Speeches in the cauſe of in-
" jured Patriotiſm, and in ſupport of the Conſtitution; and alſo
" to every other Member of Parliament who has nobly ſtood
" forward at this important criſis, in ſupport of the Conſtituti-
" onal Liberties of Engliſhmen.

" 10. That if any thing had been neceſſary to have convinced
" us of the total inefficacy of argument againſt a Miniſterial Ma-
" jority, the deciſions which have lately taken place in Parlia-
" ment, would have fully confirmed our opinion.

" 11. That therefore the People have no remedy for their
" grievances, but a REFORM IN PARLIAMENT—a mea-
" ſure which we determine never to relinquiſh, though we follow
" our Brethren in the ſame Glorious Cauſe to *Botany Bay.*

" W. CAMAGE, Chairman."

" LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY.

" UNITED FOR A REFORM IN PARLIAMENT.

" *Committee Room, March* 20, 1794.

" RESOLVED, That the Society approve the ſentiments con-
" tained in the Serious Lecture delivered to the CONSTITU-
" TIONAL SOCIETY at SHEFFIELD, on the 28th of
" laſt month—and earneſtly recommend it to the peruſal of

" all

" all who think CIVIL and RELIGIOUS LIBERTY a " Bleſſing.

" Reſolved, That the Commanding a *General Faſt* for the " purpoſe of imploring the Divine Father of *Mercy* and *Peace* to " ſupport and proſper us in the *horrid act* of deliberately *deſtroy-* " *ing* our fellow-creatures, is repugnant to the true ſpirit and " principles of Chriſtianity, where we are commanded to *pray* " for our enemies, &c. And further conſidering, that a great " part of the PEOPLE are unacquainted with the nature of the " *preſent* WAR, either as to its *juſtice* or *neceſſity* (every en- " deavour being uſed to keep them ignorant of the *real* princi- " ples and deſign for which it was commenced) to *approach* and " to *ſupplicate* the OMNISCIENT POWER, under ſuch circum- " ſtances, and for ſuch a purpoſe, muſt indeed be dreadful, ſince " knowledge and conviction are wanting—The *worſe* than hy- " pocritical hearts of *thoſe* who are the *Authors* of ſuch a mea- " ſure; although they at preſent impoſe upon the ignorant and " credulous, by ſuch deteſtable, ſuch pretended ſhow of devo- " tion, cannot eſcape the chaſtiſement of that *Power*, whom they " thus inſult, and from whoſe judgment there is no appeal.

" T. HARDY, Secretary."

" SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION.

" *March 21ſt*, 1794.

" RESOLVED, That the Secretary of this Society be directed " to write to the FRIENDS OF PEACE AND REFORM, " AT SHEFFIELD; and to aſſure *them*, that this Society " views with pleaſure, their ſteady exertions to obtain a fair Re- " preſentation of the PEOPLE of Great-Britain in Parliament; " and the proper methods which they have taken to employ *uſe-* " *fully* thoſe days which may be appointed for Public Faſts.

" D. ADAMS, Secretary."

Henry Alexander (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Wood.*

Q. Was you a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. Yes.

" *Q.* How

Q. How long is it ſince you firſt became a member?

A. It was the latter end of the year 1793—I do not know the week.

Q. What diviſion was you?

A. Diviſion 29.

Q. Did you meet at Robinſon's Coffee-houſe, Shire-lane?

A. Yes.

Q. How many might your diviſion conſiſt of?

A. I think I was the twenty-fifth member when I went in.

Q. Did you know Mr. Yorke?

A. Yes, by ſight.

Q. Was he a member of the Correſponding Society?

A. He became a member while I was there.

Q. Do you remember his being with you the latter end of the year 1793, at Robinſon's Coffee-houſe?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of people might there be aſſembled at that time?

A. I ſuppoſe between 60 and 100—the room was quite full.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke tell you whether he was going to leave you, or not?

A. On the laſt night that he was at the Society, he took leave of them by a long ſpeech—He ſaid he was going to Bel-gi-um—Bel-gi-na.

Q. Did he ſay for what purpoſe he was going there?

A. Yes; that he was going to head the French army, and ſhould be back by Chriſtmas; that he had received a letter from a friend of his in Bel-gi-um, where they were going; that they would be ripe by Chriſtmas—he was going at the head of them.

Q. Ripe for what?

A. For a revolution.

Q. Did he ſay whether he meant to return into England again?

A. He did.

Q. What more did he ſay?

A. He ſaid he was in hopes he ſhould come at the head of them to England.

One of the Jury. Where was he to come to?

A. To London.

Q. You ſay he made a long ſpeech upon his taking leave?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he ſay to you in that ſpeech—the ſubſtance of it?

A. The ſubſtance of it was as I informed you before—that had received a letter to go over; that he had an offer of being member of the National Convention in France; and that was in hopes he ſhould have the pleaſure of coming here ei-er by Chriſtmas, or the beginning of the year, at the head of em; and that he ſhould ſee them all ready to join him; and that was in hopes that Mr. Pitt, with the different miniſters he entioned, and the King's head, would be upon Temple-bar.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. That who would join them?

A. That the Society would.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Whoſe heads upon Temple-bar?

A. Mr. Pitt's he mentioned, the Miniſters', and the King's.

Mr. Wood. Recollect as much more of the ſpeech as you can.

One of the Jury. Did you mention the time when this meeting ok place?

A. It was the 5th of November, 1793.

Mr. Wood. Did he ſay any thing to you about the King and ueen of France?

A. Yes, he did—he made ſome obſervations upon them, but I not recollect the words now.

Q. But the ſubſtance of it?

A. The ſubſtance of it was, that it was what they had deſerv-—that they had met with their deſert.

Q. Did he ſay any thing about war?

A. I do not recollect that he did.

Q. Did he ſay any thing about the Sans Culottes?

A. He did make mention of the Sans Culottes; that they were ſet of brave fellows—He ſaid a deal about them, that they were ſet of brave fellows.

Q. Do not you recollect what he ſaid beſides?

A. I do not.

Q. Did he ſay any thing to you about arms?

A. He did.

Q. What did he ſay about arms?

A. He ſaid that he was in hopes when he came, he ſhould find them all ready to join him, and that when the point came that he hoped they would not be afraid, and ſpring or ſhrink from what they pretended to be; he ſaid, it was impoſſible to do any thing without ſome bloodſhed.

One of the Jury. Who did you mean by the *they?*

A. The ſociety; he was ſpeaking to the ſociety.

Mr. Wood. What did he ſay about bloodſhed?

A. He ſaid, that there would be no good done without ſome bloodſhed.

Q. Did he ſay any thing to you about Sheffield, or the people at Sheffield?

A. He ſaid, that there was a ſet of brave men there.

Q. Did he tell you in what they were brave?

A. I cannot ſay that he did.

Q. What more did he ſay about the Sheffield men?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Where was the blood to be ſhed?

A. He did not ſay.

Q. Did he ſay any thing about bread and cheeſe, do you recollect?

A. No; there was ſuch a thing mentioned in the ſociety one night before; there was a perſon came in from Sheffield, and ſaid that they had pikes made at Sheffield at ſixpence a-piece; there was another made anſwer in the room, who he was I did not know, nor him from Sheffield; he ſaid it would be good for them to have the ſame, it would only be living upon bread and cheeſe for one day; Mr. Yorke was not there then.

Q. Was it the ſame night?

A. No, it might be two or three nights before.

Q. How was Mr. Yorke's ſpeech received among you?

A. Quite unanimous; when he got up we all got up and ſhook hands with him; all roſe and ſhook hands with him when he got up and left the room.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Did you ſee Mr. Yorke any more?

A. I ſaw him no more after that.

Mr. Wood.

Mr. Wood. Do you know where he went?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you continue in the ſociety after that night, or leave it?

A. I went after that to Mr. Dundas's office, and likewiſe to my Lord-Mayor, who is ſitting there:—No, it was Sir James Sanderſon.

Q. Have you ſeen any other bills like that *(ſhewing one to the witneſs)*?

A. No.

Q. Did you ſee that before?

A. No.

Q. Why did you go to my Lord-Mayor?

A. Becauſe I thought it was proper that Government ſhould be let into the light of what they were proceeding upon; immediately as I found out what they were I gave information.

Q. What had you apprehended them to be at the firſt?

A. At the firſt I was aſked to go to the ſociety—I did not know what they were; as ſoon as I got in, Smith was delegate; the perſon with me was a friend of Smith's; they aſked me to be made a member—I agreed; I did not know what it was, I gave thirteen-pence, and they gave me a ticket.

Q. Where is it?

A. I gave it to Mr. Dundas's Secretary.

Q. How long was it before that?

A. I think I was ſeven times there.

Henry Alexander;
Croſs-examined by *Mr. Erſkine*.

Q. What are you?

A. A linen-draper.

Q. Where do you live?

A. At the Roſe, in the Fleet-market; I reſide there at preſent.

Q. At what time of the year was it that you firſt went with your friend to this ſociety?

A. Towards the latter end of the year 1793.

Q. Did you go for the purpoſe of being a member?

A. I did not, though I became one.

Q. For what purpoſe did you go?

A. I went for the purpoſe of going to a club; my acquaintance aſked me if I would go to a ſociety with him, and I went.

Q. Who is this friend?

A. His name is Whitehorn.

Q. You went there perhaps from curioſity?

A. Nothing elſe.

Q. Was Mr. Yorke there that night?

A. He was not.

Q. Who might be there that firſt night?

A. Some that were there as delegates; Aſhley was there, and Baxter was there; theſe are all I know by name, except Whitehorn.

Q. What day of the month was it?

A. I cannot ſay.

Q. What day of the week was it?

A. Of a Tueſday.

Q. In what month?

A. I cannot ſay the month.

Q. Try?

A. I cannot.

Q. Did you hear any thing that offended you that night?

A. No, nothing at all.

Q. How long did they ſit?

A. 'Till twelve—'till near one o'clock.

Q. What did they converſe about?

A. They had papers.

Q. Were they read?

A. I think Mr. Smith had ſome pamphlet that night to be read; he generally brought papers of ſome kind.

Q. Then you heard it read?

A. Yes; there was ſomething read that night.

Q. Did you become a member that night?

A. Yes.

Q. After you had heard that read?

A. There was nothing read till after I was admitted a member.

Q. Then you was ſuddenly converted into a member; you

went

went there out of mere curioſity, with no deſign of becoming a member, and at once, when Smith ſtarted up, you became a member?

A. He aſked Whitehorn.

Q. And Whitehorn went from curioſity?

A. No, he belonged to them before, to a ſociety in Holborn, which I did not know till afterwards.

Q. When did you go next time?

A. I miſſed two or three nights.

Q. You ſay you attended ſeven meetings?

A. I think I attended ſeven times.

Q. Was Yorke there the ſecond time?

A. No.

Q. Who was there the ſecond time?

A. I do not recollect—Smith was there.

Q. Did not you become acquainted with the people who were there, by converſing with them?

A. No; I converſed with Aſhley, I ſpoke to him two or three times.

Q. You became a member, becauſe you wiſhed to propagate their opinions and doctrines?

A. Not at all.

Q. Then in plain Engliſh you went there as a ſpy; did you not?

A. When I went I did not know what it was.

Q. When you became a member, did not you become a member for the purpoſe of informing?

A. After I knew what they were I did.

Q. Had you had any opinions upon the ſubject of a Reform; did you wiſh a Reform of Parliament?

A. I did not.

Q. Then why did you become a member if you did not wiſh for a Reform in Parliament, but for the purpoſe of being a ſpy?

A. When I became a member I did not know what they were.

Q. Did you not know they were a ſociety for Parliamentary Reform?

A. Yes.

Q. You ſay you did not wiſh a Parliamentary Reform?

A. I ſcarce knew what they meant by it when they read it over.

Q. Did you wiſh a Parliamentary Reform when you became a member, when you heard that paper read the firſt night. Now mind; did you wiſh a Parliamentary Reform, or any alteration in the Houſe of Commons, or in the government any way:—Upon your oath *(look acroſs to the Jury)*—Did you, upon your oath, when you became a member of that ſociety, wiſh and deſire to have any alteration in any part of the government—You need not look at me, I ſhall hear it well enough; why do you heſitate—come, cough it up, anſwer me that upon your oath; are you acquainted with Mr. Dunn, of Mancheſter?

A. No.

Q. I ſhould have thought you was?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre, Why do not you anſwer the queſtion?

A. I do not underſtand you.

Mr. Erſkine. I am ſorry for it; I believe you are the only one in court that does not: I will put it again to you, becauſe I wiſh to be civil to you. Did you wiſh a Parliamentary Reform, or any alteration in the government, when you became a member of that ſociety?

A. I never wiſhed any thing of the kind.

Q. Then, upon your oath, why did you become a member of a ſociety for Parliamentary Reform, if you wiſhed nothing of the kind?

A. The reaſon of my becoming a member, was, when I went in, as I ſaid before, Smith aſked Whitehorn if I would not be made a member; he ſaid no, I had better not to-night; but Smith urged him, and ſaid make him a member; then one got up and read a paper, I heard him read ſomething, but I did not underſtand what he read till after I got the paper from him; they gave me afterwards what they read over, and the ticket.

Q. Then you read it?

A. I do not know I read it that night.

Q. Did you read it before you went there again?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Then ſince you took the paper read in the ſociety home with you, and read it in the interval between the firſt time and the ſecond time of your going there, you muſt approve of it before you went a ſecond time?

A. I did not.

Q. You thought there was danger in it?

A. I read it to two or three of my friends; they were of the ſame opinion as myſelf.

Q. What is become of the paper?

A. I left it at Mr. Dundas's office.

Q. Then you went of courſe, the ſecond time, for the purpoſe of becoming an informer?

A. I did; I went to ſee what they were upon?

Q. Between the firſt and ſecond time you went to that ſociety, or before you went to it at all, had you been deſired by any body to go for that purpoſe?

A. I had not.

Q. Then you went of your own mere motion, becauſe you wiſhed to be ſerviceable to the public by going there?

A. The ſecond time I did.

Q. When you was there you pretended to be a friend, no doubt, and to approve of what was going on?

A. I did.

Q. Whereas in fact you were a ſpy?

A. So I proved at laſt.

Q. You went the ſecond time in order to be one?

A. I went in order to ſee what their plan was—what the real grounds of it were.

Q. Did you take down any minutes on paper?

A. They would not ſuffer it.

Q. You went again a third time?

A. I did.

Q. Was it then that Yorke talked of the pikes?

A. No.

Q. They met weekly, did not they?

A. Every week.

Q. That would extend to near two months; then of course you can tell us what month it was in?

A. The month I went I cannot ſay.

Q. How long ago; was it in 1793 or 1794?

A. In 1793.

Q. Was it winter or ſummer?

A. Towards the latter end of the year.

Q. How long before Chriſtmas, think you?

A. I cannot ſay that; I recollect the day when Yorke made his ſpeech, I attended twice after I had been with Mr. Dundas?

Q. Should you know the perſons if you ſaw them, that attended at this meeting at the end of this year?

A. I cannot ſay—I ſhould know Aſhley.

Q. If you ſaw the countenances of the ſame people that you ſaw in that room?

A. I do not know—I could not ſwear to them.

Q. Were they generally the ſame people, or different people?

A. Different poople; they came from different diviſions.

Q. How many people do you mean to ſwear were in the room that roſe up and ſhook hands with Mr. Yorke, when he ſtated what you have told the Jury about bloodſhed and about arms?

A. To ſay exactly I cannot remember; there might be in the room upwards of ſixty, or between that and an hundred; the room was as full as it could hold.

Q. I have almoſt forgot the name of the place?

A. A coffee-houſe in Shire-lane.

Q. Then they all ſhook hands with Mr. Yorke, in applauſe and approbation of what he ſaid?

A. Yes, they did when he got up to quit the room.

Q. Was that when he was going to *Bel-gi-um?*

A. Yes.

Q. Was that the word he made uſe of, that he was going to Bel-gi-um?

A. Yes—Bel-gi-am or Bel-gi-um.

Q. Had you heard of that place before?

A. No, nor did not know what it was.

Q. And he ſaid he was going to head the French army?

A. Yes,

A. Yes, he was going to Bel-gi-um to head the French army, and ſhould be back by Chriſtmas; that he had received a letter from a friend of his in Bel-gi-um, that they would be ripe by Chriſtmas.

Q. You did this, no doubt, as a lover of your country merely?

A. Nothing elſe.

Q. Nothing elſe but that?

A. No other reaſon.

Q. Then you went voluntarily, without ever being employed by any body, or deſired by any body?

A. There were three of my friends I mentioned it to, who thought I ſhould do right, they ſaid, in giving the information.

Q. Who are they?

A. One, his name is Broughton, another is a widow lady, Mrs. Graſſwood, and Mr. Bryant.

Q. How long have you been in buſineſs for yourſelf?

A. I am not in buſineſs for myſelf.

Q. What are you then?

A. A linen-draper by profeſſion.

Q. But not for yourſelf?

A. No.

Q. Who do you live with?

A. I am not in a ſituation at preſent.

Q. You are in a very ſingular ſituation, I think; what do you mean by not being in a ſituation?

A. Not in employment.

Q. How long is it ſince you was in employment?

A. In May laſt.

Q. Where did you live?

A. In Moorfields.

Q. Where there?

A. At Mr. Kellerby's, No. 14, Finſbury-Place.

Q. He is a linen-draper, I ſuppoſe?

A. He was then—he has ſince let his ſhop to another; he carries on the tayloring buſineſs.

Q. How long did you live with Mr. Kellerby?

A. Five months.

Q. When

Q. When was it you went to him?

A. I left him in May—I went to him in December?

Q. You came to him in December?

A. In December.

Q. You came to him as a ſhopman, did you?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you live before that?

A. At Mr. Faulder's, a linen-draper, on Holborn-bridge.

Q. Did you live long there?

A. I lived there almoſt two years.

Q. Since you laſt left this Mr. Kellerby, have you been applying for any other buſineſs?

A. Yes.

Q. What ſort of buſineſs? *(look acroſs to the Jury)*

A. For the ſame.

Q. It is a long time in this town, where there is ſo much linen and callico, to be out of buſineſs; who have you applied to, during that time, to be employed?

A. I have applied to different people.

Q. To whom?

A. To Twyman and James, in Holborn.

Q. Who elſe?

A. I applied to another perſon who has juſt opened ſhop; he was going to open ſhop, Mr. Marley, in Holborn, with him I agreed to live, No. 320, facing Gray's-inn-gate.

Q. How happened it you left him?

A. Becauſe I was obligated to attend here.

Q. Then you have loſt your buſineſs by attending here?

A. I have.

Q. Then you are a good patriot, indeed! ſo that from a zeal for the truth, and in order to prove that which you have been proving, you broke off your agreement with this Mr. Marley?

A. Yes.

Q. What was he to give you a year?

A. Twenty-five pounds.

Q. How long ago is it ſince you entered into this engagement with him?

A. Some

A. Some time before he opened ſhop.

Q. You know, I do not know when he opened ſhop; when was that?

A. On the twenty-ſecond of laſt month, I think.

Q. How long was it before he opened ſhop, that you entered into this agreement with him?

A. I cannot ſay.

Q. A day or two days?

A. A conſiderable time before.

Q. How long?

A. I believe the latter end of July, or the beginning of Auguſt.

Q. So you entered into an agreement with him; when did you go to tell him that you could not go on with this agreement?

A. I told him.

Q. How long ago?

A. I told him the day after I had the ſubpœna that I muſt leave him.

Q. How long ago is it that you had the ſubpœna?

A. I had the ſubpœna laſt Tueſday fortnight.

Q. Who ſubpœna'd you?

A. Mr. Wood.

Q. Was you told it was neceſſary that you ſhould give up your employment for that?

A. No.

Q. Did you aſk, whether they would allow you to continue with this linen-draper, and give you notice when you ſhould be wanted?

A. I did not.

Q. Did you apply to the Solicitor of the Treaſury, or any body engaged in this proſecution, to tell them that you had entered into ſuch an engagement?

A. No.

Q. So you gave up you employment voluntarily, becauſe you was wanted here at the Old-Bailey, for half an hour?

A. Yes, for no other reaſon.

Q. Did you aſk Mr. Marley whether he would conſent to take

take you as his ſhopman, and allow you to come here for the purpoſe of giving evidence?

A. No.

Q. Had you an idea that Mr. Marley would have refuſed to permit you to obey the King's writ, by coming to give evidence here?

A. For that continuance of time that I expected it would be.

Q. Where is Mr. Marley's ſhop?

A. In Holborn.

Q. So you mean to ſwear, that having entered into an engagement with Mr. Marley, to receive 25l. a year, you put yourſelf out of employ without ever aſking him, whether your attendance here was conſiſtent with his employment, or aſking the Solicitor of the Treaſury, whether he would give you notice when you would be wanted to give evidence?

A. Yes, I only left him laſt Friday.

Q. What reaſon did you give him?

A. I ſaid I was going out of town.

Q. Then you do not ſpeak the truth, I ſuppoſe, unleſs when you are upon oath?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Why then did you tell him you was going out of town?

A. Becauſe I expected to be ſent for to Sheffield about Yorke.

Q. How could you expect it when you knew that this trial was coming on, and you was ſubpœned here?

A. I expected to go after, as ſoon as this was over.

Q. What made you ſuppoſe you ſhould be called to go down to Sheffield as ſoon as this trial was over?

A. I only ſurmiſed that in my own imagination.

Q. Had any body told you you was to be employed upon that buſineſs, after you had been here upon this job?

A. No.

Q. Then what made you think you was to go down to Sheffield after Mr. Yorke?——Look at the Jury, do not look ſo much at me, I have ſeen enough of you.

A. The reaſon of my thinking ſo was, I had been informed before,

before, that he was expected to have been tried at the laſt aſſizes at York.

Q. Who informed you ſo?

A. Mr. Wood.

Q. You told me a little while ago you did not know you was to go down; it was only a ſurmiſe of your own mind?

A. Immediately after this was over.

Q. You have not ſought out for any employment ſince, have you?

A. No.

Q. Where did you live before you lived with this Mr. Kellerby?

A. At Mr. Faulder's.

Q. Where before that?

A. In Cheapſide, with Mr. Smith.

Q. How long is that ago?

A. That is between four and five years ago.

Q. How long did you live with Mr. Smith, in Cheapſide?

A. I was with him eighteen months, I believe.

Q. And left him five years ago?

A. I do not know that that is exactly the time---I left him, and went in the country for eleven months.

Q. For your health, I ſuppoſe?

A. I went to ſee my friends.

Q. Where do they live?

A. At Waſhford, near Saliſbury, ſix miles from Saliſbury.

Q. Who are your friends you went to ſee there?

A. My aunt.

Q. What is her name?

A. Alexander.

Q. How long did you ſtay with her?

A. I was there eleven months.

Q. That is eleven months out of five years, when you paid your affectionate reſpects to your aunt---What did you do when you came back---Where did you go next?

A. To Mr. Marley's.

Q. That cannot be, you know; for that is five years ago?

A. I went

A. I went from Smith's to Faulder's.

Q. You know it is five years ago.

A. It is rather better than four, I believe.

Q. You lived eighteen months with Mr. Smith; you went to your aunt's, and ſtaid eleven months; when you came back, after having paid this viſit, and and after you had left Smith, where did you live before you went to Faulder's?

A. I was with an aunt in Old Bedlam.

Q. Another aunt?

A. Yes.

Q. Where is Old Bedlam?

A. On the other ſide Moorfields.

Q. Is her name Alexander?

A. No, Simpſon.

Q. How long did you live with her?

A. It is impoſſible for me to ſay exactly how long it was.

Q. Did you live there up to the time; for if you don't tell me that, I ſhall aſk you where you did live. Did you live with your aunt in Old Bedlam after you came out of the country up to the time you went to Faulder's?—I do not want to hurry you.

A. I went to Smith's when I returned from the country; from Smith's I went to my aunt's, in Old Bedlam, and was there till I went to Faulder's.

Q. I am thrown out quite; you have changed the whole thing upon me at once—When you write your life you muſt be a little more correct. I will juſt take it down---How long is it ago ſince you lived with Smith?

A. Rather better than four years; but I cannot be certain.

Q. What did you leave Smith for?

A. We had ſome words.

Q. Had ſome words---what might the words be, think you?

A. I do not know I am ſure exactly now; we had ſome words, and upon that account we parted.

Q. You have an amazing good memory; you have repeated a whole ſpeech a man made at a meeting; but you cannot remember the few words that paſſed between you and your maſter---Now try; I will ſit down and give you time.

Lord

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Why don't you give an anſwer?

A. I cannot recollect the words, it is ſo long ago.

Mr. Erſkine. Then you do not remember the words.

A. I do not.

Q. When you have words with a man, it means you had a quarrel—You know I did not aſk you what you ſaid to your maſter, and what he ſaid to you; but what was the quarrel about—You muſt have a ſtrange memory for a witneſs—who is to repeat a whole ſpeech, if you do not remember for what you left your maſter—I wiſh you would look at thoſe Gentlemen; they are very good-looking men.

Mr. Attorney-General. Mr. Erſkine has ſaid repeatedly, that this witneſs had repreſented that he ſtated the whole ſpeech that Mr. Yorke made—I ſay, that is not only not correct, but it is very far from correctneſs.

Mr. Erſkine. I am exceedingly glad to be corrected, and I ſhall eſteem it no interruption whenever you do; becauſe I am ſo uſed to this work that nothing can put me out—Do try and recollect what was the nature of the quarrel between you and Mr. Smith.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Do you recollect, and if you do, have you any objection to telling us?

A. No.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Then do you recollect what you quarrelled with Mr. Smith about?

Mr. Erſkine. I am entitled to have the benefit of this Gentleman's deportment—If your Lordſhip will juſt indulge me for one moment.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Give him fair play.

Mr. Erſkine. He has certainly had fair play—I wiſh we had as fair play; but that is not addreſſed to the court.

Mr. Attorney-General. But who do you mean?

Mr. Erſkine. I ſay the priſoner has a right to fair play.

Mr. Garrow. But you ſaid it was not ſaid to the Court.

Mr. Erſkine. But I am not to be called to order by the Bar—Do you or do you not recollect what was the cauſe of your quarrel with your maſter?

A. Some

A. Some words that happened between the ſhopman and me—We had words firſt, and then my maſter and I had ſome words on account of it, and then we parted.

Q. What was the nature of the quarrel between you and the ſhopman, which led to the quarrel between you and your maſter; becauſe now you ſee you begin to recollect it?

A. We had ſome high words and he called me, I ſaid I would not be put upon.

Q. People ſeldom begin to abuſe one another without ſome reaſon.

A. We had words—I was hot as well as him, I ſuppoſe—We called one another fools—I do not know whether we did not ſtrike one another—He wanted to be head—I ſaid I would not put up with it.

Q. Who was he?

A. His name is Williams.

Q. What is his Chriſtian name?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Do you know where he went to afterwards?

A. I do not.

Q. Have you ever ſeen Mr. Smith ſince you parted from him?

A. Yes, once.

Q. From Mr. Smith's did you go to your aunt—You told me before that you had gone to your aunt's, and returned from near Saliſbury to Mr. Smith's?

A. I went to Mr. Smith's after returning from Saliſbury; then I went to my aunt's in Old Bethlem; there I was till I went to Mr. Faulder's.

Q. You are ſure it was in the latter end of the year 1793, that you heard all this about pikes?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you hear at the third meeting you went to?

A. I cannot ſay—I took no particular notice of any thing that I heard but that night.

Q. How long did you ſtay the third time?

A. Till between eleven and twelve o'clock.

Q. At what time did you go in the evening?

A. About

A. About eight—between eight and nine.

Q. And ſtaid till between eleven and twelve.

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect any thing ſaid that third night?

A. I won't pretend to ſay I do any night, except that time that Yorke made his ſpeech; that I can recollect particularly—various things were read over at different times.

Q. What were you doing between the hours of eight and twelve at night?

A. Sitting there—they kept the books open, and they admitted members, till nine o'clock, I think it was.

Q. How many members were admitted that night?

A. I cannot ſay.

Q. But there were ſome members admitted?

A. I do not know whether any members were admitted that night—there was in general, of nights; but the books were kept open for admiſſion of them till nine o'clock.

Q. But I take for granted, that a great deal muſt be ſaid between eight and nine, and eleven and twelve; becauſe you know you went there in order to inform?

A. I went there to hear what they had to ſay.

Q. In order to inform, you have told us before—Then did you hear nothing at all?

A. I took no particular notice of any thing.

Q. You went the fourth night—did you?

A. Yes.

Q. What time in the evening did you go the fourth night?

A. I ſuppoſe about the ſame time.

Q. And ſince you went in order to collect information, you ſtaid, I ſuppoſe, till the party broke up. What was ſaid that night?

A. I do not recollect any thing in particular.

Q. Not a ſyllable?

A. I do not recollect any thing at all.

Q. What time did you go the fifth night?

A. About the ſame time, I ſuppoſe.

Q. And ſtaid, of courſe, till it broke up?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you recollect nothing that paſſed that fifth night?

A. I can't recollect to ſay in particular what nights they were —I think I ſaw Mr. Yorke three times there—he came in with another perſon—he ſaid they had been to Newgate to Mr. Froſt, and that he was to be pilloried the next day—he ſaid he had had ſome words with Mr. Kirby.

Q. What did you hear ſaid that night by Yorke about the pikes?

A. I never heard Yorke mention about the pikes that I know of; it was a perſon in the room—I do not think Yorke was there the night the pikes were mentioned; it was a perſon came in from Sheffield, and ſaid, they could get pikes at ſixpence a-piece from Sheffield; another ſaid, he thought it would do for them as well as for the people of Sheffield, and it was only living upon bread and cheeſe for one day.

Q. So that is all that you can remember in all the times that you attended?

A. I remember hearing Yorke ſpeak another time about the army's being defeated, and their having mopſticks to defend Froſt while he was pilloried.

Q. Was this on the ſeventh night?

A. I cannot ſay.

Thomas Whiteborn (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. Were you at any time a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. I was.

Q. At what time did you begin to be a member?

A. The ſame evening as the witneſs that was laſt examined.

Q. About what time of the year—the beginning, the middle, or the end?

A. Towards the latter end of the year.

Q. What is your profeſſion?

A. I am ſhopman to a bookſeller.

Q. The

Q. The firſt time you was there was with the laſt witneſs, Alexander?

A. It was.

Q. Do you know how Alexander came to go there?

A. I believe we went together.

Q. Did Alexander propoſe it to you, or you to him?

A. I can't ſay; but we both went the ſame evening, I believe.

Q. Were you both admitted the ſame night?

A. Yes.

Q. How long did you continue a member?

A. I believe we paid for a quarter that evening—I was there, to the beſt of my knowledge, about four or five times.

Q. Did you ſee Mr. Yorke there at any of the times?

A. Only once, to the beſt of my knowledge.

Q. How long did you continue a member after the night you had ſeen Mr. Yorke there?

A. I was not there above once or twice after that.

Q. Have you quitted the Society?

A. Yes.

Q. How came you to quit it?

A. I could not conveniently attend—I left my ſituation—I did not know any particular reaſon.

Q. You remember Mr. Yorke being there?

A. I do particularly.

Q. Were there few or many people in the room at that time?

A. There might be from forty to ſixty people.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke come in as an ordinary member, or diſtinguiſh himſelf in any way?

A. He came in as though he had been there before, and ſeemed to be very well known.

Q. Did he ſay any thing?

A. He made a long ſpeech; I left him ſpeaking, and do not remember any part of his ſpeech.

Q. Do you mean that there might be forty people when you came in, or when you went away?

A. At each time the room was nearly full.

Q. Though you do not remember the words of his ſpeech,

perhaps you can recollect enough to ſay, whether it was a moderate or violent ſpeech, or what the ſubject of it was?

A. He ſeemed ſpeaking very loud, but I was at the farther end of the room from him.

Q. Can't you take upon you to recollect even what the ſubſtance of his ſpeech was?

A. No; not a ſentence I could not ſwear to.

Q. You was there the firſt night that the other witneſs went with you?

A. I believe it was the firſt night.

Q. Do you recollect, before you went out of the room, whether any thing was ſaid about Yorke, about his intentions of either being in one place or another, about going abroad, or being at home, or any thing of that kind?

A. I underſtood ſomething that he was going abroad.

Q. From whom?

A. I believe he mentioned it in his ſpeech; I did not mind the particular words; or whether I underſtood it from any body elſe in the room, I am not certain; but I underſtood he was about quitting England.

Q. Who did you live with at the time you became a member of this Society?

A. The late Mr. William Owen, in Fleet-ſtreet.

Q. Where did you go to after that?

A. To Mr. Baxter's, a Bookſeller, No. 81, in the Strand.

Q. Do you recollect enough of the ſpeech that was made by Mr. Yorke on that night, to tell me what impreſſion it made upon your mind at that time?

Mr. Erſkine. This cannot poſſibly be evidence.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. He is able to give no account at all of it; and as to any impreſſion upon his mind, certainly you can't aſk him to that.

Mr. Bower. Had you any converſation with Alexander afterwards about what had paſſed there?

A. I ſaw him a morning or two after we were there; I believe I might aſk him how long he ſtaid after I left the room, or ſomething to that purpoſe?

Q. You

'ou ſay you quitted the ſociety ſoon after?
ery ſoon after; I believe I was not there above four

What was your reaſon for quitting the Society?
ecauſe I left the ſituation I was in.
Iad you no other reaſon but that?
lodged at a different part of the town, and had not time
a will to go.
Vas your reaſon entirely becauſe you had changed your
, or had you any other reaſon beſides?
lo; if I had retained my ſituation, I ſhould have gone
oſt likely.
Iave you always ſaid that that was your reaſon?—Recol-
ırſelf.
do not know that I have ſaid any thing about it; it was a
[never thought to be queſtioned on, and never troubled
bout it.
What part of the room were you in---were you near
rke?
lo, quite the reverſe.
Chief Juſtice Eyre. How long have you known Alex-

ome months; I cannot ſay how long.
Chief Juſtice Eyre. What was his ſituation?
le was in a linen-draper's ſhop.
Chief Juſtice Eyre. What ſhop was he in?
\t the firſt of my knowledge of him, at Faulder's, at
n-Bridge.

George Widdiſon, (ſworn.)
Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

'ou lived at Sheffield, I believe?
'es.
What is your buſineſs?
\ Hair-Dreſſer.
Iave you any other employ?

A. A Turner.

Q. Were you at any time a Member of the Conſtitutional Society at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. About what time did you become a Member?

A. I do not know exactly; it is about two years ago, or above that.

Q. Were you at any time a delegate, at any diviſion of that meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. What diviſion of the Sheffield meeting were you a delegate of?

A. We were not ſeparated into diviſions at that time; we were all united, and uſed to meet at different houſes.

Q. When was the ſeparation made; how long after you became a member; do you recollect at what time you became a delegate?

A. I cannot ſay.

Q. How many members might there be at that time?

A. Some few hundreds, perhaps.

Q. Was the Fountain one of the houſes you met at?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember, at any time, being there at any meeting of the ſociety?

A. Yes.

Q. How many people might be there at the time?

A. To the beſt of my recollection, that was the firſt time I attended, and there was, perhaps, about two hundred.

Q. And that is about two years ago?

A. Better than two years.

Q. How long did you continue a member of that ſociety?

A. About two years.

Q. When you firſt remember the ſociety, where did they hold their meetings at Sheffield?

A. At that houſe.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know him by any other name?

A. I do not.

Q. When did you firſt ſee Mr. Yorke; about what time?

A. About a twelve-month ago, I believe.

Q. Where was it?

A. I cannot tell exactly the place I ſaw him at; either at Mr. Gale's, or Mr. Marſhal's.

Q. Did you ever ſee him, at any time after, at any of the meetings of the Conſtitutional Society?

A. Yes; ſeveral.

Q. Do you recollect at any time, whether Mr. Yorke took an active part; who was Chairman?

A. He was generally Chairman when he was there.

Q. Was he often there?

A. I have ſeen him at about three or four different meetings.

Q. About what time, as near as you can recollect, did you ſee him?

A. I ſaw him at one meeting in Queen-ſtreet.

Q. When was that?

A. It was not long after the execution of the King of France.

Q. When did you ſee him at any other meeting?

A. I ſaw him at another meeting, at the ſign of the Barrel.

Q. How long was that meeting, do you recollect, after the former?

A. I cannot recollect.

Q. Do you recollect any thing particular in Mr. Yorke's conduct and ſpeech, when you ſaw him at the Barrel?

A. I do not recollect any thing particular in his ſpeech; he appeared to me to be rather in liquor, at the time he was there.

Q. Do you remember ſeeing him, at any time after that, at a meeting in the open air?

A. Yes; I ſaw him at the meeting at the Caſtle Hill.

Q. That was about the beginning of November laſt; was it not?

A. No; April.

Q. What was done at that meeting?

A. That was the meeting that the pamphlet you have been reading was proceeded upon.

Q. Were you there when any delegate was elected?

A. I have been there when there have been delegates elected.

Q. I mean a delegate to the Scotch Convention?

A. Oh! I was there.

Q. When was that?

A. I do not recollect the time; I ſuppoſe it is a twelve-month ago nearly.

Q. Who was the delegate?

A. Matthew Campbell Brown.

Q. What was he?

A. He is an Attorney by profeſſion, I believe.

Q. Was he an Attorney at the time he was elected?

A. Yes, he was; but ſome little time before that he uſed to act as a player.

Q. Did he go to Edinburgh in conſequence of the appointment of a delegate?

A. I believe he did.

Q. Did you ſee Mr. Yorke, at any time in the preſent year, at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. In what month?

A. I think the firſt time that I ſaw him was the latter end of March, or beginning of April.

Q. Did you attend upon him?

A. I was employed as Hair-Dreſſer to him.

Q. Where did he live at that time?

A. At one Mr. Cawthorne's.

Q. Had you an opportunity, when you were about Mr. Yorke, to know what he was doing; whether writing any thing; or what he was about?

A. I do not know in particular what he was about.

Q. Did you learn, during the time you attended Mr. Yorke there, whether any addreſs, or any thing was going forward that he had any ſhare in?

A. I cannot

A. I cannot ſay I did; I ſaw an addreſs afterwards that was ſaid to be wrote by him.

Q. Were you ever with Mr. Yorke, at any time when any thing was ſaid about arms?

A. Yes; I was.

Q. What time was that; tell us the circumſtances firſt that happened reſpecting arms, when you have been with Mr. Yorke, and fix the time when it was?

A. It was ſome time in April, I think.

Q. In April;---tell me what paſſed in your preſence, at Mr. Yorke's, between Yorke and you, reſpecting arms?

A. I do not know particularly what paſſed between him and me; it was the general talk of the town, at the time the arms firſt began making; and Mr. Yorke and me had ſpoken about it; and other people likewiſe had been there ſpeaking with him about it.

Q. Who had been there ſpeaking with Yorke about arms, when you have been with him?

A. Not when I have been with him; but people that have been there with him, I have heard them talking about them.

Q. Do you recollect any particular people that you have heard talking with him about arms?

A. I have ſeen different people there; but I do not know whether thoſe were the people that had been talking to him about arms.

Q. Have you had any converſation with Yorke, or inſtructions from him, about arms?

A. Not directly with him; I made ſome myſelf.

Q. What did you make?

A. I made a dozen for Mr. Gale,

Q. Made a dozen of what?

A. Of pike-ſhafts.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke know you were making them?

A. Yes; he did.

Q. You were making ſome for Gale; did Yorke know that?

A. He did.

Q. Did you tell Yorke, or how did he become acquainted with it?

A. I do not recollect whether he ſpoke firſt to me upon the ſubject, or I to him; he aſked me once or twice, if I had made them; I told him I was making them; and when I had one made, I carried it to him to aſk him, if he thought that ſize would do for them; he ſaid he thought it would, or to that purpoſe.

Q. How many did you make?

A. About a dozen, or a dozen and a half.

Q. Did you diſpoſe of them?

A. No; not myſelf.

Q. What became of them?

A. Mr. Wilkinſon took them.

Q. Mr. Wilkinſon is a Magiſtrate there?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he ſeize them all?

A. I do not know; they have not been in my houſe ſince.

Q. You only made about that number in the whole?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any converſation with Mr. Yorke reſpecting the purpoſe for which theſe things were to be made?

A. Not particularly with him upon it, more than other people; it was generally underſtood, that it was to act in our own defence.

Q. You underſtood it was to act in your own defence?

A. I meant to have one in my own defence.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke ſay any thing to you about a reform in Parliament?

A. Yes.

Q. What paſſed between him and you, reſpecting the reform in Parliament that was ſought for?

A. We never had much about it between ourſelves, but what paſſed in public; he has chiefly delivered his ſentiments in public about it.

Q. Have you ever had converſation with him in private about it?

A. I have

A. I have.

Q. Did you underſtand from him, what he meant by a reform in Parliament?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he tell you?

A. By way of univerſal ſuffrage.

Q. How came that converſation between you?

A. I do not know; it was a thing that was often ſpoken of.

Q. Did Yorke know what you meant by a reform in Parliament?

A. We all underſtood each other, as I always underſtood, that we were all for univerſal ſuffrage.

Q. When you ſay *we*, who do you mean?

A. All the ſociety.

Q. Did you inform Mr. Yorke that it was what you underſtood by it?

A. I do not recollect particularly informing him, that that was my meaning, becauſe it was a matter generally agreed upon among us, and ſo there was not much diſputing about the mode of reform.

Q. In the converſations you had with Mr. Yorke, did you and he uniformly agree about what you meant by a reform in Parliament, or did you differ?

A. We agreed till ſome few weeks before Mr. Yorke left Sheffield the laſt time.

Q. In what did you diſagree with him?

A. I diſagreed with him in reſpect of univerſal ſuffrage.

Q. Did you tell Yorke ſo?

A. I did.

Q. What ſaid Yorke to that?

A. As near as I can recollect, I told him, when I went one morning to dreſs him as uſual, that I thought the plan of reform we were upon would not do; he aſked my motives for it; I told him, I thought it would carry us too far.—Well, ſays he, I have ſtudied it ſome time myſelf; I have read various authors upon the ſubject; and I can't ſee that any reform will be of ſervice to the nation, except that.—Very well then, ſays I, ſo far you and I

differ in opinion, and I will no longer ſubſcribe my name to any thing that tends to univerſal ſuffrage.—Very well, he ſaid, then you muſt give it up; and there the converſation broke up.

Q. After that, did you continue to have the ſame ſort of communication with Mr. Yorke, upon this ſubject, that you had had before, when you told him your ideas did not go to the length of univerſal ſuffrage?

A. No; I had very little converſation with him after that;—it was very ſeldom that I had much converſation with him upon the ſubject, when I was with him, for my ſtay was generally ſhort.

Q. After that you had not the ſame kind of communication?

A. No.

Q. How long was this before Mr. Yorke left Sheffield?

A. Perhaps two or three weeks before.

Q. Do you remember the meeting in the open air, at Sheffield, in the month of April.

A. Yes.

Q. Were you preſent at that meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Yorke there?

A. He was.

Q. Did Mr. Yorke make a ſpeech there?

A. Yes; he ſpoke at conſiderable length.

Q. Did you hear any part of his ſpeech?

A. Yes; I heard a good deal of it.

Q. After that meeting did you go to ſee Gale?

A. Yes; I had ſeen Gale after that.

Q. Had you any converſation with Gale or Yorke about being paid for the ſhafts you had made?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you paid for them?

A. No.

Q. Who did Yorke tell you to apply to for payment?

A. He did not ſay in particular who I was to apply to for the payment.

Q. Who was to pay you?

A. Thoſe

A. Thoſe people that took them of me, I expected to pay me.

Q. Did you make them then for ſale?

A. Yes.

Q. Did any perſon buy any?

A. No.

Q. You do not know that the Magiſtrates ſeized them, do you?

A. They told me ſo.

Q. You have ſaid you had only ſome private converſations with Mr. Yorke, but that he held many other converſations that were not private with you; you have often heard him converſe upon theſe ſubjects with other perſons, not private?

A. I have heard him ſpeak with different people, who have been along with him at different times.

Q. What have you heard him ſay to any of theſe perſons you have ſeen him with, upon arms, of any deſcription;---do you know Daviſon?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever ſeen him with them?

A. No.

Q. He was a member of the ſociety?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you heard Daviſon ſay any thing reſpecting arms, or providing arms?

A. Daviſon was a cuſtomer of mine, and he and I frequently ſpoke about them.

Q. A cuſtomer of yours; in what way?

A. In the Hair-dreſſing buſineſs.

Q. Had you any directions from Daviſon, at any time, reſpecting thoſe ſhafts?

A. Yes.

Q. What converſation had you with him?

A. He did not give me to underſtand, that any particular orders were given for them; only that the people in general began to call out for them; that they thought themſelves in danger, from the ſtate of the people's minds at that time.

Q. That

Q. That Davison told you?

A. Yes.

Q. You understood it was for your own defence?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any of the books, as a delegate of this society?

A. Yes.

Q. They are not here, I believe?

A. No; I believe not.

George Widdison,

Cross-examined by *Mr. Erskine.*

Q. You seem a decent man; you was two years a member of this society?

A. Yes.

Q. And till within a few weeks of the time that you have been speaking of, you had been of the same opinion with the rest of the society for universal suffrage?

A. Yes; I had.

Q. Were you a friend of your King?

A. Undoubtedly; and of the Queen, both.

Q. As far as you could collect from the conversation and behaviour of these people, with whom for two years you had associated, and who were for universal suffrage, did they appear to you to be people that loved the King?

A. Yes; in general.

Q. I ask you, as an honest man, would you have continued for two years in that society, if you had not had reason to believe, from all you saw and heard, that they were people that loved their King?

A. No; I would not have continued with them, if I had thought they acted from other motives.

Q. You did not think that universal suffrage was inconsistent with love to your King?

A. Undoubtedly not.

Q. What was generally understood by universal suffrage; and who were the people after which your society stated that they copied, in their desire of universal suffrage?

A. The

A. The first resolution that we came into, in that business, was what we took from the Duke of Richmond's plan.

Q. Of universal suffrage?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any of the publications, at that time, of the Duke of Richmond's?

A. Yes; a good many.

Q. Do you remember a letter to Colonel Sharman that was published?

A. Yes; that was in it.

Q. Should you know it, if I was to shew it you?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it ever read in the society?

A. Yes; I believe it has been.

Q. Did you ever hear it read?

A. Yes; I have heard it read several times, and I think I have heard it read once or twice in the society.

Q. Was it generally approved of?

A. Yes; at the time that we adopted it.

Q. Is that it? *(shewing the witness a printed Copy of the Duke of Richmond's Letter to Colonel Sharman.)* Should you recollect, if I were to read this part of it to you? Do you recollect this?—"The subject of a Parliamentary Reform is that "which, of all others, in my opinion, most deserves the attention "of the public, as I conceive it would include every other ad- "vantage which a nation can wish; and I have no hesitation "in saying, that, from every consideration which I have been "able to give to this great question, that for many years has "occupied my mind, and from every day's experience to the "present hour, I am more and more convinced, that the restoring "the right of voting universally to every man, not incapacitated "by nature, for want of reason, or by law, for the commission of "crimes, together with annual elections, is the only reform that "can be effectual and permanent; I am further convinced, that "it is the only reform that is practicable."

A. Yes; that is it; I have read it frequently.

Q. Now

Q. Now I aſk you, upon your oath, whether, as far as you know, (what paſſes in the heart of another man you cannot tell,) but as far as you have collected from the converſation of the people in general with whom you aſſociated, did it appear to you, and did they expreſs themſelves, that this was their object?

A. Yes.

Q. Did it appear to you, that there was any diſpoſition in thoſe with whom you aſſociated, to compel this by force of arms?

A. I never underſtood it ſo.

Q. Was it from any fear of that ſort, or becauſe you changed your mind on the idea of univerſal ſuffrage, you thought it not ſo good a plan?

A. I did not think the people's minds prepared for it.

Q. Do you ſtill continue to think as you did, provided people's minds were prepared for it?

A. When I read that, I looked upon the plan that was laid down ſo clear, that I thought it could be done without any kind of confuſion, provided the people were acquainted with it; but from circumſtances ſince, and upon more mature reflection, I had reaſon to believe they were not; and it was from the ſame conviction, that I diſſented from it, though I at firſt approved of it.

Q. Was you a member of this Society at the time they ſent their delegate to Scotland?

A. Yes, I was at that time, and ſome time afterwards.

Q. Did you think you was doing any harm when you conſented to the ſending of that delegate?

A. I did not conſent to it---I happened to be too late, or, I believe, I ſhould have given my conſent; but I ſhould not have thought I was doing any harm in it.

Q. What was the underſtanding of the people of that Society of the nature of that which was to be done in Scotland, to which they ſent their delegate?

A. I never underſtood that they had any other object in view than of drawing up an addreſs to the nation, and likewiſe a petition

tion to the Government, the Parliament, or ſome other branch of it.

Q. Did you ever hear any of them ſay, that petitioning from private ſocieties of men could not be ſuppoſed to have ſuch an effect upon Parliament?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Do not put the very words in the witneſs's mouth.

Mr. Erſkine. Your Lordſhip recollects I am in a croſs examination.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You are not to put the very words in his mouth, even on a croſs-examination.

Mr. Attorney General. It is a misfortune that that has been the courſe.

Mr. Erſkine. It has been uſual ſo to examine on a croſs-examination in the court in which I practice.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I won't ſtop you, but it is contrary to my practice and my opinion.

Mr. Attorney General. I hope your Lordſhip will give us the ſame law on our ſide.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. In a croſs-examination certainly.

Mr. Erſkine. I will conform myſelf as near as I can to your Lordſhip's wiſh.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I would not lay down a ſtricter rule in a caſe like this than has uſually prevailed.—You ſay it has been your uſual practice.

Mr. Attorney General. Thoſe gentlemen who aſſiſt me, and who practice in the ſame court, ſay it is not ſo.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I think if you will examine the witneſs, ſo as that we may have his own anſwers, inſtead of echoing your words, it will have ten times more effect with the Jury.

Mr. Erſkine. I will do it with pleaſure. Do you recollect any thing being ſaid about the expediency of petitioning Parliament from private bodies of men?

A. I do not underſtand what you mean by private bodies of men---I always underſtood that it was in public bodies that we petitioned---our matters were always public.

Q. Was it ever expreſſed by any body, or from any thing that paſſed in your preſence in the Society, previous to, and at the

time of ſending the delegate to Scotland, that they were to aſſume all the functions of Parliament, and be themſelves a Parliament?

A. By no means---I never underſtood it in that light.

Q. Was there any thing ſaid by any of them, as if that was their conception and their plan?

A. No---I never underſtood it ſo.

Q. Would you have been a party to any ſuch thing, if you had underſtood it ſo?

A. No, I hope not.

Q. Then did it appear to you, from what you collected (we know there might be bad men in any ſociety) but from what you collected in general of the diſpoſition of your Society, from what you heard them ſay, and the ſort of people they were---did you then, and do you now, conſider them to be people attached to their King, at the ſame time that they were attached to their own freedom?

A. I always looked upon them in the ſame light.

Q. Are you ſpeaking now your own ſentiments?

A. Yes, not only mine, but what I underſtood were the ſentiments of thoſe I was aſſociated with.

Q. Then you look upon them as perſons attached to their King?

A. Yes; becauſe I always looked upon it that the King's preſervation and the liberties of the people were inſeparable; and I believe that was the general idea of the people that were concerned in the Society, that conducted it, moſt, if not all of them.

Q. That the King's preſervation, and the liberty of the ſubject, were inſeparable?

A. I always underſtood it in that light.

Q. Was any thing ſaid about arms for the purpoſe of reſiſting the laws that are under his Majeſty's execution?

A. I never heard it mentioned in that light.

Q. Was any thing ever ſaid in your Society concerning arms for attacking the King's Majeſty, and putting down the laws which he was to execute?

A. Not in my hearing.

Q. Was what was ſaid about arms at the time the hand-bill was put out?

A. I do not remember arms being ſpoken of in the Society—it was generally ſpoken of in converſations we had in each others houſes.

Q. When you made a pike for yourſelf, what did you make it for?

A. To defend myſelf provided it ſhould be neceſſary.

Q. What made you collect at that time, about the month of April, that it was likely you ſhould want arms for your defence?

A. Becauſe there was not ſo good an underſtanding between the two parties as there was before.

Q. Who do you mean by the two parties?

A. The one, us who were for univerſal ſuffrage, the other, who oppoſed it.

Q. Had you any intention, in making a pike for yourſelf, to defend yourſelf againſt the magiſtracy of the country, or thoſe people who might illegally attack you?

A. Only againſt thoſe people who might come without any legal authority from the magiſtrate, or from the government.

Q. From what you knew of the ſentiments of the other perſons of the ſociety, did it appear to you that that was the general opinion?

A. Yes, I always underſtood it ſo; becauſe we have many times been threatened in different companies that we have been in.

Q. Do you mean that you had been threatened with perſonal violence?

A. Yes, I have myſelf in different companies that I have frequented—I have heard them remark, thoſe whom we generally looked upon as Ariſtocrats, or whatever name you might give them, ſome of the violent ones—That if any thing ſhould happen, that an invaſion ſhould take place in this country, they would deſtroy their enemies at home firſt. I have heard that alledged againſt me and my friends frequently.

Q. What anſwer did you make when you heard that alledged againſt you and your friends?

A. I do not know in particular what reply I have made; ſometimes perhaps I have ſaid, that I hoped that was not the general

diſpoſition of them; if it was, we ſhould be under the neceſſity at leaſt of taking means to be prepared for them, or to that effect.

Q. Then you, and thoſe with whom you aſſociated, were well diſpoſed to the government and the conſtitution of your country?

A. Yes; I never had any intention of altering it, and never underſtood that that was the intention of the ſociety.

Q. Who was it, if there was an invaſion in the country, that ſaid they would make an attack upon the others?

A. That their party would; that they would follow the example of the French.

Q. And attack you and your aſſociates?

A. Yes.

Q. From any thing that paſſed in your Society relative to their wiſh of univerſal ſuffrage, was there any thing ſaid againſt the Lords' Houſe of Parliament, or only that you wanted univerſal ſuffrage in the Commons?

A. That very rarely formed any part of the converſation with reſpect to the Houſe of Lords, and the only three pamphlets I ever ſaw upon it were wrote by Major Cartwright: he propoſed ſome alterations in reſpect of Repreſentation of the Houſe of Lords, with reſpect to filling them up by repreſentation.

Q. That was the only book you ever read upon the ſubject?

A. Yes.

Q. But that was no part of the plan of your Society?

A. No, I never underſtood that that was adopted; that that was any part of our plan.

Q. Upon the whole, am I to underſtand you that you continue ſtill attached to the King and Conſtitution?

A. Yes.

Q. You ſay you ſaw Mr. Yorke once when he was drunk?

A. No, he was not drunk; but did not appear to be ſo ſober a man as generally he is.

Q. Have you often ſeen Mr. Yorke attending at your meetings which you have been ſpeaking of?

A. I have ſeen him at public meetings ſome few times.

Q. With the exception of the time when he was a little in liquor,

liquor, as you ſay, how did he conduct himſelf in his converſations?

A. Generally very well, from what I ſaw or heard of him; he uſed to get a little warm in converſation now and then.

George Widdiſon,

Re-examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. I obſerved you ſaid, that in general you thought people who were deſirous of univerſal ſuffrage, were well affected to the King, you ſaid, that you underſtood ſo in general. You heard Mr. Yorke's ſpeech---now did it ſtrike you that he was one of thoſe people who were well affected to the King?

Widdiſon. The ſpeech at the Caſtle Hill, do you mean?

Mr. Bower. Yes.

A. I had not ſufficient reaſon to think he was otherwiſe.

Q. At other times, from his converſation, did you imagine him one of thoſe perſons who were well affected to the conſtitution and government?

A. I had never reaſon to ſuſpect otherwiſe.

Q. Did you happen to know that there had been a communication between Daviſon and ſome perſons in London, about ſending arms to London?

A. I never knew it till I ſaw the letter publiſhed in the newspaper.

Q. When was that?

A. In the latter end of May laſt.

Q. Was that publiſhed at Sheffield?

A. Yes, in a newſpaper, at Sheffield, and in a London paper, I believe.

Q. Till that time you never knew that there had been any communication between Sheffield and London about arms?

A. No.

Q. You never knew that the Convention had any other object but to petition Parliament for the alteration wanted?

Widdiſon. Do you mean the Engliſh or Scotch Convention?

Mr. Bower. The Scotch.

A. I never underſtood they had any other object.

Q. You

Q. You never underſtood that the Society had any other object in ſending a delegate there, than for effecting a Reform in Parliament---that was what you underſtood?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you there when the thanks of the Sheffield Society were voted to Mr. Paine?

A. Yes, I was a member of it at the time.

Q. Were you preſent when the thanks were voted?

A. I cannot remember.

Q. Have you read Mr. Paine's books then?

A. Yes.

Q. Then I may take it you are of opinion, after reading thoſe books, that the thanks of the ſociety were given to the author of that work by people properly attached to the King and Conſtitution?

A. Yes.

Mr. Bower. Then I will not trouble you with any farther queſtions.

Henry Hill, (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Law.*

Q. What are you?

A. A Cutler.

Q. You live at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you at any time a member of the Conſtitutional Society at that place?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you begin to be a member of it?

A. As ſoon as it was inſtituted, the ſecond, or third night.

Q. In what year was it inſtituted?

A. I think in the year 1792, but cannot be poſitive.

Q. How long did you continue a member of that ſociety?

A. Very near twelve months, as near as I can recollect.

Q. Do you remember, during the time you was a member of that ſociety, Mr. Yorke's viſiting the ſociety?

A. Yes, once.

 Q. Do

Q. Do you remember when that was?

A. I think in the year 1792.

Q. Do you remember the meeting on the Caſtle-Hill?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. That was in laſt April.

Q. Do you remember the lecture on the Faſt-day?

A. Yes.

Q. That was in February 1794?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember after this lecture had been given on the Faſt-day, any talk in the Town about arms?

A. Not till ſome time after that.

Q. Do you remember the meeting of the 7th of April, 1794?

A. Yes.

Q. About that time, was there any converſation prevalent in the town about providing yourſelves with arms?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know Daviſon?

A. Yes.

Q. What is he?

A. A printer.

Q. He worked for Gale?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Yorke lodged at Gale's at one time, did he not?

A. I cannot tell, he did not at that time.

Q. Had you an application from Gale, to make any blades for pikes?

A. Yes,

Q. When?

A. In the beginning of April.

Q. Did he order any particular number?

A. No.

Q. What orders did he give you reſpecting the making of them?

Hill. Do you mean in the ſize and number?

Mr. Law. In both.

A. He brought a bayonet for me as a pattern to make them by, I made one in a bayonet ſhape, and Daviſon approved of it.

Q. Did he tell you where you were to get the iron, did you take it upon his credit, or your own?

A. Upon his credit.

Q. Who was to pay you for the workmanſhip?

A. Daviſon.

Q. Did that pike you made from that model, meet Daviſon's approbation?

A. He did approve of it.

Q. Did you carry it to Camage's?

A. It was in Camage's houſe he ſaw it.

Q. Did you ever meet Yorke at Camage's.

A. No, I was deſired by Daviſon to go to Yorke.

Q. Did you go to him?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ſhew him any of thoſe blades?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he ſay about them?

A. At the time I went to him, he had juſt received an account of Mr. Walker's trial, at Mancheſter, and he was ſo overjoyed, that he had very little to ſay then about the blade that I ſhewed him.

Q. Did he approve of it?

A. He had little to ſay, I do not know whether he ſaid anything, he was ſo overjoyed.

Q. He was going off to Mancheſter then?

A. No.

Q. At any ſubſequent time, had you any converſation with Yorke, about thoſe blades?

A. No.

Q. You ſaid he was overjoyed, what was he overjoyed at?

A. At being liberated in that indictment with Mr. Walker, and Dunn puniſhed; Dunn was put into priſon.

Q. He ſaid nothing upon that occaſion reſpecting the pike?

A. Not as I remember now.

Q. Did

Q. Did you ever ſee him afterwards, with a pike properly mounted upon a ſhaft in his hand?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that, how long after?

A. It was ſometime after, perhaps a fortnight or three weeks, I cannot juſtly tell when.

Q. Did he make any obſervations upon that pike, ſo prepared and mounted?

A. As little as poſſible, there were ſome young girls in the room that he was very fond of, he took it in his hand, and pretended to give it a puſh at one of them.

Q. Did Daviſon apply to you to make any greater number of pikes afterwards?

A. No, when he firſt gave me orders, I was to make ſo long as he employed me.

Q. To what number did you go on making?

A. About a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and thirty.

Q. Did Daviſon take up theſe and pay you for them?

A. He paid me for ſome of them.

Q. Had he the whole of that hundred and thirty?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you uſe to carry them to when you had made them?

A. Sometimes I took them to my own lodgings, ſometimes to William Camage's.

Q. Did you deliver them to Daviſon at William Camage's?

A. If he was there I delivered them to him, if not I left them there.

Q. What pay had you for the workmanſhip?

A. Two-pence a piece.

Q. You ſaw Daviſon's letter to the priſoner?

A. I did.

Q. And read it?

A. I did not read it, but heard him read it.

Q. Did he ſay anything after he had read it, reſpecting any demand there might be from any other quarter for thoſe pikes, London, or any where elſe?

A. There

A. There was ſome little converſation about it, but I cannot recollect what it was.

Q. Did he expreſs any expectation of an order from any other place, for pikes of the ſame ſort?

A. He ſaid he did not know but there might be the ſame need for them in London, as there was in Sheffield.

Q. What did you underſtand to be the purpoſe for which they were prepared at Sheffield, and which might make them likewiſe wanted in London?

A. To act upon the defenſive, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by an unlawful ſet of men.

Q. This letter was to the priſoner at the bar, as Secretary of the Correſponding Society, I underſtand?

A. I do not know, I did not look at the direction.

Q. Did Daviſon ſay whom they expected would attack them?

A. The oppoſite party that were in Sheffield.

Q. But in London who was to attack them?

A. I cannot ſay any thing about that, there would be the ſame occaſion in London I ſuppoſe as in Sheffield, if there ſhould be the ſame neceſſity.

Q. That they ſhould be attacked in London by the ſame, or ſimilar people as in Sheffield?

A. If they ſhould be attacked.

Q. How ſoon after your delivering theſe hundred and thirty pikes to Daviſon did he abſcond—when did he leave Sheffield?

A. I think about the middle of May, if I can recollect right.

Henry Hill.

Croſs Examined by *Mr. Gibbs.*

Q. You ſay you were a member of the Conſtitutional Society, from the time that they firſt came together?

A. Yes.

Q. I ſuppoſe you would not have been a member of that ſociety, if you had not ſuppoſed it would have been faithful to the King?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Had

Q. Had you ever any intention in becoming a member of that ſociety, to endeavour to diſplace the King from his throne?

A. No, I never heard a ſyllable of the ſort at Sheffield.

Q. Do you ſuppoſe that was the view of any of thoſe who were members of the ſociety?

A. I never heard them declare it was, they were always friendly to the King for any thing that ever I ſaw by them; I never ſaw any thing to make me think the contrary.

Q. What reform was it they wiſhed to have brought about?

A. A more equal repreſentation in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, as I underſtood it.

Q. Whoſe plan of reform in Parliament did they follow?

A. They followed the Duke of Richmond's plan, as I underſtood there were a number of letters diſtributed in Sheffield.

Q. Did you hear the members of this ſociety ſay, that they formed themſelves upon the Duke of Richmond's plan, that they followed his plan?

A. Yes, I have heard that ſaid ſeveral times.

Q. There were ſome pikes prepared at Sheffield; what was the reaſon of your preparing them?

A. From the oppoſite party uſing ſuch threats, even in the dead of the night, they have come where I lodged and inſulted us of a night when we have been in bed, and have ſworn they would pull down the Houſe and burn it, calling us Jacobins, and calling the Houſe Jacobin Hall, becauſe the ſociety uſed to meet there ſome diviſions of it before I went there.

Q. And you had actual reaſon to expect danger from them?

A. Yes, by their threats, they have even ſhot into peoples' Houſes, an armed ſet of people that made a parade in the ſtreet, and when going home at twelve o'clock at night, they ſhot under a perſon's door.

Q. This was an armed ſet of people at Sheffield?

A. They procured arms and paraded the ſtreet, and if there were any great victory gained.——

Q. Upon ſome occaſion of this ſort, they fired through or under one of the doors?

A. They did.

Q. Was it this ſort of conduct, and thoſe threats, that induced you firſt to prepare arms?

A. No other thing, no other view.

Q. Had you, or any of the people of Sheffield, a view of attacking the Magiſtracy of the Country with thoſe arms you prepared?

A. No, far from it.

Q. Were they then meant merely for your own defence?

A. Merely for ſelf defence.

Q. And for no other purpoſe?

A. For no other purpoſe, that ever I knew.

Henry Hill,

Re-examined by *Mr. Law.*

Q. Before you prepared theſe pikes for ſelf defence, did it never occur to you to mention to Mr. Wilkinſon, a Magiſtrate in the neighbourhood, that you were in need of this defence, if you ſhould be attacked?

A. I do not know, that ever there was any complaint to him.

Q. Do you know Mr. Althorp?

A. No.

Q. Did you make a complaint of the danger which you was in, to any other perſon that you can name?

A. I do not know, that any complaint was made to a Magiſtrate.

Q. Or, to any other perſon that you can name?

A. No.

Q. You have ſaid you were well affected to the King, and that you had no objection to the Houſe of Lords, that you only wanted to effect a Reform in the Commons Houſe of Parliament?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you preſent at the time thanks were voted to Mr. Paine for his works?

A. No.

Q. Do you know that a vote of that ſort was come to by your ſociety?

A. I do

A. I do not know any thing about it.

Q. You do not in fact know that any ſuch vote was come to by your ſociety?

A. No, I do not know any thing about it.

Robert Moody, (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. You are a joiner at Sheffield?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you a member of the Conſtitutional Society formed in that place?

A. I was not a regular member for above a twelvemonth before I was apprehended.

Q. Beſides the general meetings of the Society, had they any meetings which were called diſtrict meetings, diviſion meetings?

A. They had.

Q. Did you know a perſon of the name of Henry Yorke?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever ſee him attending at any of the meetings?

A. I have ſeen him at ſome of the public meetings.

Q. In what character did he act?

A. As a ſpeaker and orator whenever I ſaw him.

Q. Did you ever ſee him act as Chairman?

A. Yes.

Q. When you ſay you ſaw him in the character of an orator, do you mean you ſaw him addreſſing the people?

A. Yes.

Q. Where?

A. I ſaw him at a meeting at the Caſtle Hill, and one or two other meetings.

Q. How many people might be preſent at the Caſtle-Hill?

A. I think not leſs then ten thouſand.

Q. Upon that occaſion you heard Mr. Yorke ſpeaking to the perſons aſſembled there?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you near enough to hear and collect diſtinctly the ſubſtance of what he ſaid?

A. No, I was at a diſtance.

Q. Did you ſtay till the buſineſs was concluded?

A. Yes.

Q. In what way did he go home to his apartment?

A. A coach was brought, the horſes were taken out, and the populace drew him home.

Q. Do you remember a perſon of the name of Camage being there at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear him read any reſolutions?

A. I ſaw him up reading ſomething which I underſtood to be the reſolutions, I afterwards ſaw ſome reſolutions in the Sheffield paper.

Q. Was that news paper printed by Gale?

A. It was.

Q. Did Broomhead act as Secretary to that meeting?

A. He did.

Q. Did you after that ſee Camage upon the buſineſs at your ſhop?

A. Yes, he came one time and brought me four or five pike blades and ſpoke to me to make three dozen of handles.

Q. Who came with him when he came to you?

A. There was a perſon with him, I do not recollect who.

Q. Did the perſon who came with him bring any?

A. I do not know whether each had ſome, or one brought all the parcel.

Q. How many blades might Camage bring to you upon the whole to be fitted into Handles?

A. There were blades enough to anſwer the ſhafts he had ordered, three dozen.

Q. Did you learn from Camage what the purpoſe was for which thoſe pikes were to be made?

A. No, I had no orders from him but juſt to make them, I did not enquire any thing about the purpoſe they were for.

Q. Who were the perſons in general that were furniſhed with thoſe pikes?

A. I never knew who they were for, but I underſtood by Camage, that a man of the name of Daviſon was to take them

from

n him, or he had chaps for them ſo far as I ſhould be paid ly money for them when they were done.

Q. Did you learn in the ſociety from members of it for what poſe thoſe pikes were made?

A. I did not know further than what I could collect and poſing from what I could collect, that they were for ſelf de- :e.

Q. Self defence againſt whom?

A. Againſt people by whom they ſuppoſed they might be ;ally attacked, for reports and only reports, as I know of, had that they ſhould be diſperſed, they had met frequently in e meetings, and many of the oppoſite opinion ſaid, that they ild be diſperſed, and how far they might influence a Juſtice he peace, or any body to give them any authority, we ſup- :d a little matter might have done it; they might have uſed e means which they ſuppoſed muſt be injurious to ſome of the ies, and they got theſe, as they wiſhed to defend themſelves aſe they ſhould be illegally attacked.

Q. Do you recollect any converſation about the time of any of r public meetings, with reſpect to the dragoons which were ie neighbourhood of Sheffield?

A. Yes, I remember ſo far that it was ſaid——

Mr. Erſkine. Said by whom?

Mr. Garrow. Was it ſaid by Camage, or any of the members ie ſociety?

A. I do not know by whom, but I have heard it ſaid——

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Heard it ſaid, where, by what ple?

A. Some people in Town, who I cannot tell; it was a report, ght be true, or might be falſe.

Mr. Garrow. To which of thoſe meetings did the converſa- about dragoons apply, was it to that upon the Caſtle-Hill?

Mr. Gibbs. He is aſked to what meeting it applied, whether plied to that at the Caſtle Hill!

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. The queſtion is not quite ſo correct ſhould be, becauſe the object is to ſee, to which meeting it ed.

Q. Previous

Q. Previous to the meeting at the Caſtle-Hill; and how long previous to that had there been any converſation about the dragoons?

A. I know of none before that.

Q. After that meeting at the Caſtle-Hill, did you hear from Camage, or from any other member of your ſociety, any converſation reſpecting the dragoons in the neighbourhood of Sheffield?

A. Not from any of the Society, I do not know who it might be from that I heard it.

Q. Attend, do you mean to ſay, that you did not hear it from Camage?

A. I did not.

Q. Nor from Daviſon?

A. No.

Q. Nor from Broomhead?

A. No.

Q. Nor from Gale?

A. No.

Q. And in general, not from any member of the ſociety?

A. Not from any one particular man.

Q. I do not aſk you from any one particular man, were there any dragoons in the neighbourhood of Sheffield?

A. There were.

Q. When you were in Camage's ſhop at any time, did you ſee any leaden inſtrument, or model of an inſtrument?

A. I did.

Q. What was it?

A. It was what was called to me, in the privy Council, a night-cat; it was called when it was ſhewn to me a cat.

Q. What paſſed at the time that that cat ſo called, was ſhewn you in Camage's ſhop?

A. It was lying in the window, I took it up and examined it to ſee what it was, and aſked what that was, he told me as he had been told I ſuppoſe, he ſaid it was an inſtrument that was, or might be made uſe of to throw in the ſtreets, it would lie pointed upwards which would prevent horſes from travelling in the ſtreets.

Q. Did

Q. Did it ſeem to you, that the inſtrument was well enough ulated to do what he ſtated it had, or might have done?

A. It did.

Q. At any way it preſented a point?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did he ſtate he had been told ſuch an inſtrument been uſed?

A. He never told me that any ſuch inſtrument had been uſed.

Q. You ſaid it was an inſtrument that had been, or might be l to throw in the ſtreets, it would lie pointed upwards, which ld prevent horſes from travelling in the ſtreets, did he men- any town in the courſe of that converſation?

A. No.

Q. Who was preſent beſides Camage at the time that paſſed?

A. Nobody but Camage and me.

Q. At any time when you was preſent at Camage's ſhop, did ſee any blades for pikes brought home by any body?

A. Yes, I once ſaw ſome brought in by a man.

Q. How many?

A. A few, perhaps, ſix or eight, I do not recollect.

Q. Did you ſee any pike complete at Camage's?

A. I never ſaw any but part of them that I made.

Q. That is to ſay your ſhafts and his blades made complete es?

A. Yes.

A pike brought into Court.

Q. Is that the ſort of inſtrument that you made?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the ſhaft made of?

A. That is made of deal.

Q. That is not ſhod, is it?

A. No, nothing but the wood.

Q. Nor loaded, is it?

A. No, there is nothing in it.

Q. Do you remember Mr. Daviſon making any application to i with reſpect to letters?

A. Yes, I remember him aſking me to let a letter or two be

directed to be left with me for him; I told him he might if he pleaſed direct his correſpondent to direct his letters to be left with me; I do not know any thing more about it, for I never had any letters.

Q. That blade fits into the hoop at the top, and takes out occaſionally, does it not?

A. No, it is faſt in.

Q. I do not know whether you knew of Daviſon's correſpondence in London, upon the ſubject of pike-blades?

A. No, I know that I did not know of any of his correſpondents.

Q. You did not know of that letter that he wrote from Sheffield?

A. No.

Q. How long had Daviſon come from Leeds to Sheffield?

A. I ſuppoſe he might be two months, I ſuppoſe not more.

Robert Moody.

Croſs-examined by *Mr. Erſkine.*

Q. If I underſtand you right, Daviſon had written ſome letter or letters which you knew nothing of, and if any anſwers were to come to thoſe letters that he might have written, they were to come to your hands?

A. Yes.

Q. None ever came to your hands?

A. No.

Q. How long were you a member of this ſociety?

A. A year.

Q. Was you a member at the time that the delegate went?

A. No.

Q. What was this cat, a large thing, or a ſmall thing?

A. A little thing, the tines might be an inch long, and it would ſtand an inch and a half high, or ſo, when it was down.

Q. Were any made from that model; did you ever ſee one?

A. No, I never heard of, or ſaw any.

Q. Was this thing concealed?

A. No, it lay open in the ſhop.

Q. Then

Q. Then any body that had paſſed by might have ſeen it of courſe?

A. Any body that had gone where he was at work, might have ſeen it.

Q. Did you ever hear any orders to make any from it, or ſee any made from it?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever ſee a real one in your life?

A. No.

Q. Did you frequent the ſociety much?

A. Not of a year back; I had not before I was brought away.

Q. Brought away by what?

A. In cuſtody here.

Q. Up to the time that you was taken into cuſtody, was any thing ſaid in your hearing againſt the King?

A. I never heard any thing ſaid againſt the King.

Q. Was you yourſelf a friend to your King and the Conſtitution, as well as you underſtood it?

A. Yes, I was, I believed him to be a good man, and it would be a crime to do any thing againſt a good man.

Q. Were the people with whom you aſſociated, decent, well-behaved people?

A. Yes, I always endeavoured to get into the company of thoſe who were better informed than myſelf, in order that I might get improved.

Q. You ſay that it was about the month of April that they firſt began to ſee about theſe pikes?

A. It was.

Q. Was there ever any thing ſaid about pikes, before thoſe threats of ſome people at Sheffield that frightened you?

A. No, I never heard of any.

Q. And how many were made in conſequence of the apprehenſion that ſome people had that they might be ill-uſed?

A. There were very few made; Carnage ordered of me three dozen, and I made two dozen, and nine or ten.

Q. Do you know of any others having been made beſides thoſe?

A. Widdiſon made ſome handles I underſtood, but I underſtood that no pikes had been made.

Q. If you had underſtood they were made for the wicked purpoſe of making an attack upon the Government, would you have had any hand in making them?

A. I would not.

Robert Moody.

Re-examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. How early had you apprehenſions of thoſe attacks?

A. Only lately, in the courſe of a few months, before I was brought from Sheffield.

Q. Were there any pikes made that you know of, until Sheffield and its neighbourhood began to raiſe volunteer companies for the defence of the country?

A. Thoſe were made before.

Q. How long before?

A. Perhaps two or three weeks; they were not made before they were talked of.

Q. You told me what you apprehended was, that a magiſtrate would lend his authority upon a little, to diſperſe your meeting, and to reſiſt; that was your object—Did I take you right?

A. It might be ſo, or they might take upon themſelves to diſperſe us without the authority of a magiſtrate.

Q. In either caſe thoſe inſtruments were to be uſed for your defence?

A. If it was found neceſſary.

Q. About this cat, as it was called; ſuppoſing a number of theſe cats, not made of lead as the model was, but of iron, to have been thrown into the roads, I aſk you, whether they were not moſt effectual inſtruments to have prevented any cavalry acting?

A. It appears ſo to me.

John Edwards (ſworn).

Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. What are you by buſineſs?

A. A ſilverſmith.

Q. Were

Q. Were you a member of the London Correſponding Society, as it was called?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know the priſoner at the bar, Mr. Hardy?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know him in any character connected with the London Correſponding Society?

A. I underſtood he was Secretary to the London Correſponding Society.

Q. Did you, at any time, receive any direction from the priſoner at the bar, to any perſon at Sheffield?

A. I did receive a direction.

Q. To whom was that direction?

A. I cannot recollect the name.

Q. Could you recollect the name, do you think, if you heard it?

A. I have been told ſince I have been in cuſtody the name, but I cannot ſwear that that is the name of the perſon.

Q. At what time was that direction furniſhed you, by Mr. Hardy to ſome perſon at Sheffield; no matter who he is, or what his name is?

A. I think in the month of April, I cannot be certain.

Q. What year?

A. In 1794.

Q. For what purpoſe was that direction given to you by Mr. Hardy, and what was to be ſupplied in conſequence of it?

A. I went to Mr. Hardy, one day, at his houſe; I aſked him, whether he was going to ſend to Sheffield, I ſhould be much obliged to him if he would incloſe a few lines to ſome perſon at Sheffield, if they could inform me if there was any perſon there that could forge the blades of ſome pikes.

Q. Did the priſoner, in conſequence of that application, furniſh you with any direction to any perſon at Sheffield?

A. Mr. Hardy read part of a letter to me, and gave me a direction to a perſon at Sheffield, wrote on a ſmall piece of paper.

Q. What was the purport of that which he read to you, as part of the letter from Sheffield?

 A. I cannot

A. I cannot recollect the purport of it at preſent.

Q. The ſubſtance of it?

A. That a plan had been formed there to forge blades for the people at Sheffield?

Q. This was upon your application to him for a direction to ſomebody at Sheffield, to make blades for pikes?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you do in conſequence of that?

A. I ſpoke to two or three of the members of the London Correſponding Society, and I underſtood that there were ſeveral perſons who wiſhed to furniſh themſelves with ſuch things; and as ſuch I took upon myſelf to go to Mr. Hardy, to know who I could ſend to, at Sheffield, to get them; and a meeting was to have taken place on the Friday before Mr. Hardy was taken up.

Q. Where was that meeting to have taken place, on the Friday before the priſoner was apprehended?

A. At the Parrot, in Green Harbour Court, in the Old-Bailey.

Q. For what purpoſe?

A. They were to have met there; and any perſon that put down the money, might have them; the blades were to be ſent up from Sheffield to London.

Q. What ſum of money was to be put down by thoſe who choſe to have blades, for pikes, from Sheffield?

A. One ſhilling, I underſtood.

Q. Was that converſation at any diviſion meeting of the London Correſponding Society?

A. No.

Q. Was this communication with the priſoner mentioned at any diviſion meeting?

A. No.

Q. What number did you belong to?

A. No. 29.

Q. Was you preſent at any time at No. 22?

A. Yes, I think I have been.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Gosling?

A. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know another perſon of the name of Hillier?

A. Yes.

Q. A perſon of the name of Baxter?

A. Yes.

Q. Spence?

A. Yes.

Q. What diviſion was Baxter delegate for?

A. I do not know.

Q. Was he a delegate to any of the Committees of the Correſponding Society?

A. He was.

Q. Was Spence?

A. He was.

Q. Was this plan of ſending to Sheffield for pike blades, mentioned to any of thoſe perſons?

A. I mentioned it to Baxter, to Spence, and to Hillier.

Q. Do you know of any place in the Borough of Southwark, where there was any meeting connected with this ſubject?

A. I have heard there was a place.

Q. Did you ever hear from Mr. Hardy, or any member of the London Correſponding Society, that there was ſuch a place?

A. I heard there was a place in the Borough.

Q. Of what ſort, and for what purpoſe?

A. A place were they met to learn the exerciſe.

Q. What exerciſe?

A. To learn the uſe of the muſket.

Q. Was there any ſubſcription at that place in the Borough, where the uſe of the muſket was to be learned, for any and what purpoſe?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did you learn from any of the members of that ſociety that there was?

A. Never.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Higgins?

A. Yes.

Q. And a perſon of the name of Godwin?

 A. Yes.

A. Yes.

Q. Were they members of the London Correſponding Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you learn from them, or from either of them, whether there was any ſociety of the ſort you have juſt mentioned?

A. I have underſtood, from Godwin, that there was a ſociety in the Borough, but I was never there.

Q. You learned then, from this man, who was a member of the London Correſponding Society, that there was a place in the Borough where they learned the uſe of the muſket?

A. He told me ſo.

Q. Did you learn from him, whether he belonged to it, or not?

A. No.

Q. Did you learn from him, or from any other member of the London Correſponding Society, where that ſociety, for learning the uſe of the muſket, met?

A. No.

Q. Do you know a place, called Bandy Leg Walk?

A. I have heard of it, but I never was there.

Q. Have you heard of that place from Hillier, Baxter, Spence, or Higgins, whom you have ſtated to be Members of the Correſponding Society?

A. I did not hear where it was.

Q. Did you know a perſon, called Franklow?

A. I have heard of him.

Q. Was he a member of the ſociety?

A. I believe he was; but he was not a member of the diviſion I belonged to.

Q. Do you know where Franklow lived?

A. I have known, ſince I have been in cuſtody, that he lived at Lambeth, but I did not know before.

Mr. Erſkine. Does your Lordſhip take it, that what was ſaid by Higgins or Hillier is evidence?

Mr. Garrow. I ſubmit it is evidence.

Mr. Erſkine. I ſubmit to the Court, that it is not evidence; I ſhall not argue it.

Mr.

Mr. Garrow. Nor ſhall I.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I conſider that point to have been determined by the majority of the Judges.

Mr. Garrow. Did you know of any aſſociation at Lambeth?

A. I have heard of it.

Q. Did you hear of that from Franklow?

A. I never ſaw him, till I ſaw him in the Privy Council Chamber.

Q. Did you ever hear of it, from any member of that aſſociation?

A. I remember ſomething was mentioned of it ſoon after I went to the diviſion; ſomething was ſaid about it, but by whom I cannot tell.

Q. What was ſtated at that meeting of the diviſion, at which there was converſation about Franklow's aſſociation?

A. I underſtood that there was a meeting, known by the name of the Lambeth Loyal Aſſociation; that was all I underſtood about it.

Q. Did you hear at that, or any other meeting of the ſociety, of what number that meeting at Franklow's was compoſed;—how many perſons attended it?

A. I never knew how many perſons attended it; I underſtood that the number, when it was completed, was to be ſixty.

Q. You underſtood, at that meeting of the diviſion, that it was to be ſixty, when full?

A. Yes.

Q. For what purpoſe did that aſſociation meet?

A. That I cannot tell, for I was never there.

Q. For what purpoſe was it ſtated, in the London Correſponding Society, at the diviſion meeting, that they met?

A. I never heard any thing ſtated of what was the purpoſe of their meeting.

Q. Did you ever hear that that ſociety, or any other diviſion of the London Correſponding Society, had arms?

A. I never heard any thing mentioned of that ſociety, but what I have juſt now ſtated.

Q. What

Q. What was this aſſociation at Franklow's for?

A. I could not tell, for nothing of the kind was ever mentioned.

Q. Did you hear from any body, in any of the meetings of the Correſponding Society, in what dreſs thoſe perſons who attended Franklow's meeting aſſembled?

A. No; I did not hear.

Q. Do you know in what dreſs they aſſembled?

A. They had a blue coat, and red collar; I think I ſaw Franklow in his dreſs.

Q. Was there any other part of the dreſs that was regimental, or was like regimental?

A. White waiſtcoat and breeches.

Q. In that dreſs you ſaw Franklow himſelf?

A. Yes; once.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. When was it you ſaw Franklow ſo dreſſed?

A. It was at the dinner, at the Globe Tavern.

Mr. Garrow. When was that dinner?

A. On the 20th of January.

Q. The Anniverſary Dinner?

A. Yes.

Q. At that dinner Franklow appeared in the dreſs that you have mentioned?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know of any meeting of any number of perſons of the Correſponding Society, at the Three Tuns, at Snow-Hill?

A. The diviſion 22, uſed to meet there.

Q. Do you know of any propoſal in the Correſponding Society, for inſtructing that diviſion in the uſe of arms?

A. No; I cannot ſay I recollect any.

Q. Do you know of any meeting of any number of perſons, for that purpoſe, at the Three Tuns, on Snow-Hill, to the number of ſixteen, or thereabouts?

A. Yes; I recollect there was one evening about ſixteen perſons met.

Q. Was

Q. Was you one?

A. I was.

Q. What was the purpoſe of that meeting?

A. I had ſpoke to ſeveral of the members myſelf, before that meeting took place, for them to meet there; and, if they thought proper, to form an Aſſociation like that of the Lambeth Aſſociation, but no perſon would.

Q. No perſon would agree to that propoſal?

A. No.

Q. Were thoſe ſixteen members of the diviſion, No. 22?

A. I do not know what diviſions they were members of; they were of ſeveral diviſions, I believe.

Q. When was it that that meeting was held at the Three Tuns, Snow-Hill?

A. I cannot recollect when it was.

Q. Before or after the Anniverſary Dinner?

A. Before that a long while.

Q. In the London Correſponding Society was there any committee, which was called the Secret Committee, for diſpatch of buſineſs?

A. I underſtood there was.

Q. Did you underſtand, from any of the members of the ſociety, that there was?

A. Yes.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Sixteen people met; what was done there?

A. Nothing at all.

Mr. Garrow. At that meeting, where ſixteen were preſent, what was propoſed by any body?

A. I only propoſed the forming an aſſociation, ſimilar to that of Franklow's, as I mentioned, and no perſon there would join in it.

Q. In what manner was the Secret Committee of the ſociety choſen?

A. I cannot tell in what manner they were choſen; I only heard it in the diviſion.

Q. Did

Q. Did you, in that diviſion, hear of the appointment of any Secret Committee, which was afterwards diſſolved?

A. This was the ſame committee, the Secret Committee, that I heard mention of in the diviſion.

Q. Was that Secret Committee ſupplied by any new committee?

A. I underſtood it was; but that committee that was diſſolved had full powers to chuſe another.

Q. What was the reaſon, as it was ſtated in the diviſion meetings, for diſſolving that Secret Committee which had exiſted, and giving full powers to that Secret Committee to chooſe a new one?

A. It was thought that ſome perſon had given information of that committee having been choſen.

Q. Was that perſon who was ſuſpected, a member of the ſociety?

A. He was a member, I underſtood, of the General Committee.

Q. What was his name?

A. Lynham.

Q. Did you ever know who the perſons were that conſtituted that new committee?

A. The perſons that they choſe on the committee there, were five perſons; I do not know that I could recollect all their names.

Q. Should you know their names, if they were ſtated to you?

A. I think I ſhould.

Q. Do you know John Martin, an Attorney?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he one?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know John Thelwall?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he one?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know Baxter?

A. Yes; he was one.

Q. Moore?

Q. Moore?

A. He was one.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Hodgſon, and another of the name of Lovett?

A. I cannot be certain which of thoſe two it was.

Q. You know thoſe two perſons?

A. I know them both.

Q. Was one or the other a member of this Secret Committee?

A. He was.

Q. Where did this Secret Committee meet, as you learned in the meetings of the Correſponding Society?

A. I do not know.

Q. At what ſort of places did they meet; at the ordinary places of meeting of the general meetings of the ſociety, or in private houſes?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do not you know, from the information of the ſociety?

A. I underſtood that they met at their own houſes.

Q. Did you underſtand that in the ſociety?

A. No; I was told by a perſon not in the ſociety.

Q. What was the office of this Secret Committee; what had they to do?

A. To receive any letters that were ſent.

Q. And what were they to do with them, when they had received them?

A. That was all left to them; it was kept a ſecret from the ſociety.

Q. Did they communicate to the ſociety, occaſionally, ſuch correſpondence as came to them?

A. At times they uſed to have letters read in the diviſion.

Q. Was it left to them to uſe their diſcretion about that?

A. I underſtood ſo.

Q. Was you a delegate at any time of the ſociety?

A. I was.

Q. In the character of a delegate was you a member of the General Committee?

A. I attende

A. I attended the General Committee about ſix times.

Q. You was not a member of the Secret Committee?

A. No.

Q. Do I underſtand you right, that the correſpondence was committed to the Secret Committee, and left with them, whether it ſhould be brought before the General Committee, or the ſociety at large at their diſcretion?

A. It is impoſſible for me to anſwer that, becauſe it all remained a ſecret to themſelves.

Q. Have you any reaſon to know from any of the proceedings of the ſociety, that correſpondences which did find their way to the Secret Committee, were not communicated either to the General Committee, or to the ſociety at large?

A. That I cannot tell.

Q. Where did the General Committee at firſt meet?

A. In Compton ſtreet.

Q. At number 3, the coffee room?

A. I think it was number three.

Q. Was you ever preſent at Compton-ſtreet?

A. Sometimes I have been there.

Q. How often might you be there?

A. Twice.

Q. Was it any part of the buſineſs of the General Committee of delegates that met at Compton-ſtreet to receive the return of new members?

A. Always from every delegate.

Q. Did it happen that at all thoſe meetings you attended, there were returns of new members?

A. When a delegate attended, the returns were made at a General Committee.

Q. From Compton-ſtreet, were the meetings of the Committee tranferred to any other place?

A. To Beaufort-buildings.

Q. To whoſe houſe?

A. Mr. Thelwall's.

Q. No. 2, Beaufort Buildings?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect at the firſt meeting of the committee which you attended, any deputation attending to report from any other ſociety?

A. No, I cannot recollect that.

Q. Do you know from any thing that paſſed at any of the meetings of this Society at large, that your ſociety was in correſpondence, and co-operation with the Conſtitutional Society?

A. No, not at that time, I underſtood on the Thurſday night following, that a committee of correſpondence was appointed by the Conſtitutional Society of ſix perſons, and I alſo underſtood, that a deputation had been appointed to the Society for Conſtitutional information. I underſtood that the Corresponding Society deputed five perſons to attend a meeting of the Conſtitutional Society—before I went to the committee, there was nothing mentioned of it the firſt night as I underſtood—On the ſecond night I underſtood they had appointed a committee of ſix perſons, and there were only five perſons of the Correſponding Society choſe for the deputation, and then they choſe another perſon to add to them, to make up the number.

Q. Were you preſent at any time, when the deputation from your ſociety reported, that the Conſtitutional Society appointed ſix perſons, the Correſponding having appointed five, they choſe one more after, to make up the ſix, then the twelve I ſuppoſe met?

A. Yes.

Q. Was you preſent at any time when a report was made by any of the members of that Committee of Conference to the ſociety at large, or the General Committee. You have ſaid you know Hodgſon, Lovett, Thelwall, Baxter, and Moore?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they the perſons who were deputed from your ſociety, to correſpond with the Conſtitutional Society?

A. I was not preſent, when the deputation was appointed.

Q. Do you recollect any debate with reſpect to yourſelf, and your age, at the time that this buſineſs of delegates was conſidered?

A. Yes, I recollect it.

Q. Who

Q. Who were the perſons, do you recollect, that took part in that debate?

A. Several perſons ſpoke, and moſt of them were ſtrangers to me at that time, and I did not know who they were, Mr. Thelwall was one that ſpoke.

Q. Was Baxter one who ſpoke in that debate?

A. At the committee, not in the diviſion.

Q. Do you remember being at the General Committee, when a buſineſs reſpecting a gentleman of the name of Eaton was taken into conſideration?

A. I remember there was a debate one night, reſpecting a medal that had been ſtruck, that was to be preſented to the Jurymen that acquitted Mr. Eaton.

Q. Was the medal to be preſented to any other perſons except the Jury who had acquitted Mr. Eaton?

A. I do not know, I only underſtood to the twelve Jurymen who had acquitted him.

Q. Acquitted him, upon what occaſion?

A. When he was tried at the bar for a libel I think, and was found not guilty.

Q. Do you remember anything of a meeting at Chalk Farm, in the neighbourhood of this town?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the proceedings in the ſociety as far as came to your knowledge, preparatory to that meeting?

A. I do not know, I was only appointed to the committee one night before that, and that was the night when the debate took place reſpecting myſelf, and I heard nothing at all but reſpecting that.

Q. Was you preſent at the meeting at Chalk Farm?

A. I was there.

Q. Where did you firſt go to—did you go to Chalk Farm, or any other place firſt?

A. I went to Store-ſtreet, Tottenham Court Road.

Q. And from thence to what place?

A. To Chalk Farm.

Q. At what time did you arrive at Chalk Farm?

A. I can-

A. I cannot recollect what time, it was in the afternoon.

Q. Was that meeting at Chalk Farm, one that had been appointed in conſequence of any proceedings of the Correſponding Society?

A. I do not know.

Q. You did not know before you went there?

A. No.

Q. You went there a delegate of the Correſponding Society, if I underſtand you right?

A. Yes, I had been made a delegate only one week before.

Q. Had you any card, or ticket for your admiſſion to Chalk Farm?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you procure that?

A. I had it of the committee of the Correſponding Society.

Q. When, and where procured?

A. By the committee of the Correſpondiug Society at Compton-ſtreet.

Q. When?

A. On the Thurſday night preceeding the meeting at Chalk Farm.

Q. What was the occaſion of your going to Store-ſtreet, rather than Chalk Farm at firſt?

A. I underſtood there was a room engaged in Store-ſtreet, it was advertized that the meeting was to be there.

Q. There you went with your ticket as I underſtand you, previouſly procured from the Committee?

A. Yes.

Q. When you come to Store-ſtreet, what led you to Chalk Farm?

A. I underſtood Juſtice Addington had been there, and forbid the man to let us have the room.

Q. Then you went to Chalk Farm?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of perſons might there be aſſembled at Chalk Farm?

A. I ſuppoſe upwards of two thouſand?

Q. Was there any ceremony upon your introduction there?

A. There was a perſon ſtood at the door, juſt to take the ticket.

One of the Jury. Was it an encloſure, or what?

A. It was a kind of trap-ball green, before a long room.

Mr. Garrow. Thoſe tickets which the perſon at the door was to take, were thoſe which you had received from the committee of the Correſponding Society, if I take you right?

A. Yes.

Q. What was done with the ticket delivered to the perſon at the door?

A. They tore one half off, the other half you kept yourſelf.

Q. What were you to do with the other half?

A. To put the other half in your hat.

Q. When you were admitted, be ſo good as ſtate the proceedings that took place, who were the perſons that were there, and what paſſed?

A. There were ſome letters read.

Q. Did you find there any perſons of the Correſponding Society?

A. Yes, ſeveral perſons there.

Q. Any that you knew, or that you have named?

A. Yes, there were Moore, Hodgſon, and Thelwall.

Q. Was there any perſon who took the chair at that meeting?

A. Yes, John Lovett.

Q. Name ſome more that were there of the Correſponding Society, with whom you was acquainted?

A. Richter was there, and there were moſt of the members of the committee.

Q. Do you know Mr. Hardy?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he there?

A. I do not know whether he was there or not, for I was up in the long room all the time.

Q. After you were admitted into the ground, did any perſon take the chair?

A. Mr.

A. Mr. Lovett took the chair ſoon after I was in the ground; there were two ladies I was acquainted with, we went up into the long room, and were locked in, therefore I could not ſee ſo well.

Q. Did you hear what was read, or ſaid, ſo as to be able to give any account of it, if not I will not purſue it?

A. I cannot give any accouut of what was ſaid.

Q. Was you preſent afterwards at any meeting of the General Committee, or any other committee of the London Correſponding Society at which the proceedings at Chalk Farm were reported?

A. I do not recollect ever hearing the proceedings at Chalk Farm being reported at a committee.

Q. Nor in the ſociety?

A. No, becauſe moſt of the members heard it there.

Q. Do you know a place called Robins's Coffee-houſe, in Shire-lane?

A. Yes.

Q. Is that a place at which any of the meetings of the ſociety were held?

A. Diviſion, No. 29, met there.

Q. Did you uſe to attend the meetings of that diviſion occaſionally?

A. I did, I was a member of that diviſion.

Q. Be ſo good as to look at this paper, and tell me whether you ever ſaw any of theſe ſort of papers diſtributed at Robins's Coffee-houſe, and were any of them delivered to you by any of the perſons you have named?

A. I ſaw ſome, but not ſo large as this, and of a different date.

Q. Was it the ſame ſubject, did it contain the ſame expreſſions?

Mr. Erſkine. I muſt object to that queſtion.

Mr. Garrow. I muſt inſiſt upon the queſtion.

Mr. Erſkine. I will ſtate my objection; the witneſs is aſked whether he ſaw that paper, or any paper ſimilar to it?

Mr. Garrow. That is not the queſtion, nor any thing like it.

Mr. Erſkine. State the queſtion then.

Mr. Garrow. The queſtion I put was this; whether you had received a ſimilar paper to that at Robins's Coffee-Houſe? To which you anſwer,—Not of that ſize.

A. Not at Robins's Coffee-Houſe.

Q. Did you ever receive a paper of that ſort any where?

A. Of a different date.

Q. Of the ſame contents as that paper?

A. Yes; one; but not ſo large.

Q. Where did you receive that, and from whom?

A. From a perſon of the name of Baxter.

Q. From that Baxter whom you have named, as a member of the London Correſponding Society?

Mr. Erſkine. The witneſs ſays, the paper delivered by Baxter was not the ſame paper as this; and that it was of a different date.—Does your Lordſhip think the witneſſes ſaying, he believes the contents of this to be the ſame, makes this paper evidence?

Mr. Garrow. I ſubmit that, if I propoſe to read a paſſage from Locke, and I ſhew the witneſs an octavo edition of Locke, and aſk him whether he had read the paſſage in a duodecimo edition of the ſame author, that it is ſufficient evidence, if he has, to let me in to read it.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. In order to come at that evidence, you would be obliged to lay before the Court ſome evidence, that this which you offered was an edition of Mr. Locke's work.—The queſtion is, whether you have gone far enough yet?

Mr. Erſkine. Exactly ſo.

Mr. Garrow. I will aſk a few more queſtions.—You ſay this paper is not of the ſame ſize as the paper you received from Baxter?

A. No.

Q. What is the date of this paper?

A. Tueſday, the firſt of April.

Q. Did you, at any time, receive a paper from Baxter, of the ſame contents as that, except the date of the 30th of January, upon a paper of a different ſize?

Mr. Erſkine. What did you do with that paper?

A. It was deſtroyed before I was taken into cuſtody.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. That paper being deſtroyed, the witneſs will give ſuch account of it as he can; he may either refreſh his memory by looking at this paper, or, if he can venture

to

to ſay, that this contains in it the ſubſtance of the other, it may be received, upon that account, as the beſt evidence; either way, it comes to the ſame thing, with regard to you, Mr. Erſkine, and therefore, I think, it is not worth mooting.

Mr. Erſkine. The paper was fabricated by the ſpies who ſupport the proſecution.

Mr. Attorney General. You ſhall not ſay that, till you prove it.

Mr. Erſkine. I ſhall prove it.

Mr. Attorney General. Till you prove that, you ought not to ſay it; it is a charge that ought not to be made.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. If there is any point between you which ſhould be heard, the appeal, to be ſure, muſt be made to the Court.

Mr. Garrow. I wiſh to God it was; we ſhould ſave much time and trouble.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. A little indulgence, on both ſides, would ſave much time and trouble.

Mr. Attorney General. When a paper is produced, which your Lordſhips hold to be legal evidence to be read, it muſt not, and ſhall not be ſtated in this Court, unleſs it is proved, that the paper is fabricated by the ſpies who carry on the proſecution.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I hope nothing of that kind has been ſaid, for it was an improper thing to be ſaid; and, if it dropt from any body, it was an inadvertent thing.

For
The Benefit of JOHN BULL.

At the
FEDERATION THEATRE, in EQUALITY-SQUARE,
On Thurſday, the 1ſt of April, 4971,
Will be performed,
A new and entertaining Farce, called
LA GUILLOTINE;
OR,
GEORGE'S HEAD IN THE BASKET!

Dramatis Perſonæ.

Numpy the Third, by Mr. GWELP,
(Being the laſt time of his appearing in that character.)

Prince of Leeks, by Mr. GWELP, junior.

Duke of Dice, by Mr. FREDDY, (from Ofnaburg.)

Duke of Jordan, by Mr. WILLIAM HENRY FLOGGER,
(From the Creolian Theatre.)

Uncle Toby, Mr. RICHMOND.

Grand Inquiſitor, Mr. PENSIONER REEVES.

Don Quixote, Knight of the Dagger,
By Mr. EDMUND CALUMNY.

And Chancellor of the Exchequer, by Mr. BILLY TAXLIGHT.

Municipal Officers, National Guards, &c.
By Citizens XOF, NADIREHS, YERG, ENIKSRE, &c.

Banditti, Aſſaſſins, Cut Throats, and Wholeſale Dealers in Blood, by THE EMPRESS OF RUFFIANS, THE EMPEROR OF HARM-ANY, THING OF PRUSSIA, PRINCE OF S. CASH-HELL, &c.

Between the Acts,

A New Song, called "Twenty more, kill them!"
By BOBADIL BRUNSWICK.

Tight Rope Dancing, from the Lamp-Poſt,
By Meſſrs. CANTERBURY, YORK, DURHAM, &c.

In the Courſe of the Evening will be ſung, in Full Chorus,
CA IRA.
AND
BOB SHAVE GREAT GEORGE OUR ——!

The whole to conclude with
A GRAND DECAPITATION
OF
PLACEMEN, PENSIONERS, AND GERMAN LEECHES.

☞ Admittance, Three-pence each Perſon.

Vive la Liberté! Vive la République!

Mr. Garrat.

Mr. Garrow. You ſay you received one of theſe papers, of a different date?

A. Yes; dated the 30th of January.

Q. Was that the 30th of January preceding?

A. Yes.

Q. At what time did you receive the paper you had?

A. I do not recollect when it was; it was ſome time ago.

Q. Where did you receive it?

A. I received it from Baxter, about three months before January.

Q. Three months before January?

A. It was in October or November, I think, I received it.

Q. Then, ſuppoſing it to have been for ſome exhibition, it was delivered to you three months before the date, at which the thing was to take place?

A. I rather think it was three months, or thereabouts.

Q. After the meeting at Chalk Farm, did you go to Compton-ſtreet?

A. I did, in the evening.

Q. What connexion had the place in Compton-ſtreet with the ſociety?

A. It was where the diviſion uſed to meet at the Coffee-Room.

Q. Did you ſup there?

A. I did.

Q. How late did you ſtay?

A. Not very late; I went away about eleven o'clock.

Q. Who were the perſons that were preſent?

A. A great number of perſons were preſent.

Q. Were they members?

A. I underſtood moſt were that came from Chalk Farm.

Q. Was Mr. Thelwall one?

A. He was.

Q. Did you, in any of the meetings of the ſociety, or its committees, receive any information with reſpect to arming, in any way, except thoſe that you have told us about pikes, and Franklow's Aſſociation?

A. Never; not in any of the diviſions.

Q. Had you from any of the members of the ſociety?

A. I never had.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Aſhly?

A. I do.

Q. Was he a member of either of the ſocieties?

A. He was.

Q. Had you any information from Aſhly, about arming with pikes?

A. I never had.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Joyce?

A. I have ſeen him two or three times.

Q. Do you remember any meeting at the Crown and Anchor, upon the ſecond of May, in the preſent year?

A. I was there.

Q. In what manner were you admitted?

A. By a ticket.

Q. By whom was that ticket furniſhed to you?

A. Mr. Joyce.

Q. Who called him out of the room to give you a ticket?

A. Mr. Thelwall.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Was that a dinner?

A. The Anniverſary Dinner of the Conſtitutional Society.

Q. You was preſent at the dinner at the Globe Tavern likewiſe?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember any printed paper being diſtributed at that dinner, at the Globe Tavern?

A. After dinner the addreſs that had been read in the morning, was printed, and diſtributed about.

Q. Where had that addreſs been read in the morning?

A. At the Globe Tavern, before dinner.

Q. After dinner that was diſtributed about, and read?

A. Not read after dinner; it had been read before dinner.

Q. Was there any converſation at that meeting, with reſpect to any troops; any Heſſian troops, for inſtance.

A. I do not recollect any.

Q. I paſs

Q. I paſs that, and go to the dinner, on the ſecond of May, at the Crown and Anchor; give us ſome account of the manner in which that feſtival was conducted; before I go to that, I would juſt aſk you as to the dinner at the Globe Tavern; you do not recollect the circumſtance of any paper, reſpecting the Heſſian troops, there, do you?

A. I do not recollect any.

Q. Do you recollect any paper that reſpected the different parties, as they are called, in this country; the *Ins* and *Outs*, as they are called there?

A. Not there.

Q. Where then?

A. I ſaw one of thoſe papers at the Three Tuns, on Snow-Hill.

Q. At a diviſion meeting?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. I do not recollect when it was.

Q. Before or after the 20th of January?

A. I think it was after the 20th of January.

Q. You was not preſent at Robins's Coffee-Houſe, when Mr. Yorke made a ſpeech there?

A. I was not.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Hodgſon?

A. Hodgſon, the Author, I know.

Q. Did you ever receive any printed paper from Hodgſon, the Printer, in Bell-Yard, or Lovett?

A. No; I never did.

Q. Have you been preſent, at any time, at Mr. Thelwall's Lecture, in Beaufort Buildings?

A. Yes; I have been.

Q. Was it permitted to any body to take notes of his Lecture?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did it ever happen to you to be preſent, when any perſons that were doing ſo, were interrupted?

No; I never was.

Q. You have told us of your application to Mr, Hardy, on the

the ſubject of pikes; what money was to be paid down for thoſe pikes?

A. One ſhilling.

Q. What was that to include?

A. To be ſent to Sheffield for the blade.

Q. When the blades were finiſhed, what was to be done then?

A. Any perſon might put in the ſhafts that wanted them.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Goſling?

A. Yes; I do know him.

Q. And another perſon of the name of Hillier?

A. Yes.

Q. Had you any converſation, at any time, or any inſtructions from Goſling, upon the ſubject of pikes?

A. No; I never had inſtructions from Goſling.

Q. Was he a member of the ſociety?

A. I believe he was; Goſling and Hillier came to my father's houſe on the Monday Hardy was taken into cuſtody.

Q. Was any meeting appointed to take place before, reſpecting pikes?

A. It was appointed for the Friday before Mr. Hardy was taken up; it was afterwards poſtponed for another week.

Q. What was the purpoſe of that meeting that was to have been held on the Friday?

A. As many perſons as choſe were to have put down their money for pikes.

Q. Where was that meeting to have been held?

A. In Green Harbour Court.

Q. Was that one of the houſes where the meetings of the diviſions had been held?

A. They had been held there; but it was to be a general meeting then.

Q. That meeting was poſtponed, and, in the interim, on the Monday, they came to you?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it before you knew of Hardy's being apprehended, or afterwards, that they came to you?

A. They

They came to me before I knew Mr. Hardy was appre-
; for while they were in the houſe, I was informed of it
:rſon who came there.
What was the ſum to be depoſited by each member?
One ſhilling.
What was to be furniſhed for that?
A blade, and nothing elſe.
Where were they to procure the reſidue to make the pike
ctual inſtrument?
They were to get that where they thought proper.
While they were with you, information came that Mr.
was apprehended?
Yes.
What ſort of wood were the ſhafts to be made of?
do not know; fir was recommended in the letter, I think.
In conſequence of that recommendation, were any others
ed?
Yes, I had one.
Where did you get that?
made that myſelf.
Was any obſervation made upon it?
Not that I recollect.
We ſaw one here juſt now, in which the blade was fixed
ſhaft; was yours of that conſtruction?
No.
Look at that; is that the ſhaft of your's?
Yes.
The ſhaft only?
The ſhaft only.
Is the blade there?
No, the blade was made to ſcrew into the top.
What is become of the blade of your's?
Deſtroyed.
When?
Before I was taken into cuſtody.
How long before?
On the Wedneſday before.

Q. Was it before or after you was informed that Hardy was taken into cuſtody?

A. After I was informed that Hardy was taken into cuſtody.

Q. How happened that to be deſtroyed? by whoſe advice?

A. By nobody's.

Q. Why did you deſtroy it?

A. Becauſe I was afraid of its being found upon me.

Q. Do you know of any other repreſentation by magic lantern, or other, that was uſed as connected with this ſubject?

A. I had a magic lantern of my own, which I produced to ſhew Mr. Goſling.

Q. You mean Goſling, one of the members?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any connection between that entertaining apparatus, and the objects of your ſociety?

A. No.

Q. What was it to repreſent?

A. It was the property of Monſ. Chauvelin; there was the deſtruction of the Baſtille and beheading of the Governor painted on it.

Q. Was that your property?

A. Yes, it is in the meſſenger's houſe now.

Q. You ſaid you knew a perſon of the name of Hillier?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether he had any pike?

A. I underſtood he had.

Q. Was that of the ſame conſtruction as your's, or of a different conſtruction?

A. It was of a different one.

Q. Was he one of the perſons at your houſe to whom you ſhewed your pike the day of Hardy's apprehenſion?

A. He was.

Q. Do you know where Hillier's pike had been conſtructed?

A. I do not.

John Edwards.

Croſs-examined by *Mr. Erſkine.*

Q. How long before you was apprehended was you a member of this Correſponding Society?

A. I became a member of the Correſponding Society laſt July was a twelvemonth.

Q. You ſaid you made a pike for yourſelf; what trade are you?

A. A ſilverſmith.

Q. When did you make that pike for yourſelf?

A. I think it was in March.

Q. What year?

A. 1794.

Q. How long had you been in the ſociety at the time you made that pike?

A. From July 1793.

Q. For what purpoſe did you make it?

A. I had heard a perſon of the name of Yorke that had juſt mentioned, one night in company where I was, after one of the diviſions broke up at Robins's Coffee-houſe, that they had pikes at Sheffield, and I made that.

Q. But hearing that there were pikes at Sheffield, why ſhould that induce you to make a pike for yourſelf; you muſt have had ſome motive in you own mind for it?

A. I underſtood ſome of the members were providing themſelves with arms, and I made that for myſelf.

Q. For what purpoſe?

A. In caſe there ſhould be any illegal diſperſion of the meetings,

Mr. Erſkine. Had you heard of any threats having been made uſe of at Sheffield?

A. No, I had not; but it was juſt at the time the Heſſian troops were landed without the conſent of the Parliament.

Q. You have the misfortune to be in the cuſtody of a meſſenger, but it does not follow that you have been guilty of any offence?

A. That ſhould be the caſe, or I ſhould not have been taken up by a warrant for treaſonable practices.

Q. Had you any intention of making uſe of that pike againſt the government of the country?

A. Not againſt the government of the country.

Q. No ſuch intention at all?

A. None.

Q. When you went to Mr. Hardy, what did you go for?

A. I aſked

A. I aſked him if he was going to ſend to Sheffield, and would incloſe a few lines for me to ſome perſon at Sheffield, that could forge the blades for ſome pikes, that ſeveral members of the ſociety wiſhed to have them.

Q. Did you ſpeak to any members of the ſociety that wanted them?

A. Not before.

Q. Did you, after that, ſpeak to ſome members of the ſociety that did want them?

A. Several ſpoke to me about them.

Q. Did you underſtand them, that they wanted them for the ſame reaſon as you wanted them?

A. I underſtood ſo.

Q. From any thing that paſſed between you and any of the members of the London Correſponding Society, for whom you were diſpoſed, through Mr. Hardy's aſſiſtance, to get directions to perſons at Sheffield, had you any reaſon to believe that they wanted the pikes for a rebellion againſt the government and magiſtracy of the land?

A. Not for a rebellion againſt the government; not againſt any legal power that might be ſent to diſperſe them.

Q. But if you were attacked without the authority which the law confers upon magiſtrates, you thought you had a right to defend yourſelves?

A. Yes, juſt ſo.

Q. You thought very right; you appear to have given a very fair account; I believe that in conſequence of that you made a propoſition in one of the diviſions where ſixteen perſons were preſent?

A. That was long before I had the direction from Mr. Hardy.

Q. What was the reaſon of your making the propoſition at that time?

A. Becauſe there had been great oppoſition ſhewn to the meetings before that time.

Q. Had any inſults been offered to any of the members?

A. There was; at a diviſion I was preſent at in Rotherhithe, two of the Police officers came in, they wanted to know what they wanted; they ſaid they came to ſee if there were any men fit for his Majeſty's ſervice.

Q. Were

Q. Were you at that time doing any thing, or were the people who were there, doing any thing that your own conſciences ſuggeſted to you to be wrong?

Mr. Attorney-General. Is that a queſtion to be aſked?

Mr. Erſkine. I ſay it is ſubject to his Lordſhip's opinion.

Mr. Attorney-General. Be ſo good to ſay why?

Mr. Erſkine. I ſhould be very glad to hear why it is not.

Mr. Attorney General. They may do acts their own conſciences may think right; but that does not make them legal.

Mr. Erſkine. That is the reaſon I ſhall put the queſtion that way; a man may know what his conſcience is, though he may not know what the law is.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Being upon a croſs-examination, I think he may be aſked whether he at the time apprehended that the thing which he was doing was lawful or unlawful—whether it was ſo, or not, will not depend upon his apprehenſion, but it may go to the general evidence he gives—it may operate one way or other—if he has done an illegal thing, but innocently, if he is brought as a witneſs, he may be aſked to that; what the effect of it will be, I do not know.

A. At the very time that the people came in to diſperſe us, we were reading the addreſs from Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond at the Thatched Houſe tavern.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Was it more or leſs legal upon that account?

Mr. Erſkine. Certainly not.

Mr. Attorney General. So far, that if the conſcience of the witneſs is to decide it, I cannot help thinking it may be more or leſs legal.

Mr. Erſkine. I wiſh it to be underſtood I am no advocate for the conſcience of the Duke of Richmond nor Mr. Pitt.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. It is certainly true; but this is rather too grave an occaſion for ſuch an obſervation.

Mr. Attorney General. It is not a proper occaſion for this frippery.

Mr. Erſkine. I ſay that is not a proper expreſſion.

Mr. Attorney General. I will repeat it.

Mr. Erſkine. You will not repeat it any where elſe.

Lord

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. The Gentlemen I hope will recollect that they are upon a ſolemn trial.

Mr. Erſkine. I think it is really hard upon me upon this ſolemn trial, that I ſhould be eternally aſſailed by theſe Gentlemen, when I have the arduous taſk of extracting the truth from theſe witneſſes.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. If any perſon were diſpoſed (which I dare ſay no one is) to give you any interruption, it would be my duty to preſerve order, and take care you ſhould be permitted to go on in your buſineſs without interruption; but it is impoſſible the cauſe can go on, unleſs the Gentlemen at the bar will a little underſtand one another, and by mutual forbearance, aſſiſt one another—you are a little too apt to break out, and I think there has been a little inclination ſometimes to obſerve more upon that than the occaſion calls for.

Mr. Attorney General. As far as came from me, I am ſorry for it.

Mr. Erſkine. I will repeat the queſtion, if I have your Lordſhip's liberty to put it, the objection being over-ruled.—At the time you were oppoſed in this manner, were you doing any thing which in your apprehenſion, or your mind, was wrong?

A. I was not.

Q. From any thing that you ſaw or heard from thoſe perſons with whom you aſſociated, did you collect that they intended to make a different uſe of the pikes than that for which you had made your own?

A. I did not.

Q. You ſaid you made a propoſition which was negatived by the Committee, or whoever it was, when ſixteen perſons were preſent; what was the propoſition you made?

A. It was about forming another Society upon the ſame principle as that at Lambeth, but no perſon would ſecond it.

Q. When you made that propoſition to have a Society upon the ſame footing as that at Lambeth, what did you conceive that Society to be?

A. It bore the name of the Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation, that was the ſame as that I meant to form in caſe there ſhould be any illegal diſperſion of the meetings.

Q. If

Q. If you had underſtood that Lambeth Aſſociation to have been of perſons diſpoſed to oppoſe the magiſtracy of the country, ſhould you have made that propoſition?

A. I ſhould not.

Q. And yet, though you made that propoſition, it was not aſſented to?

A. No.

Q. Do you remember the priſoner ſaying any thing about that?

A. No; I do not remember his ſaying any thing of it.

Q. Have you ſeen him at any of thoſe meetings?

A. Yes, at my diviſion ſeveral times.

Q. How did he deport himſelf?

A. In a very quiet manner; I never heard him ſpeak in any of the diviſions not once.

Q. Did he appear to be a man of a turbulent diſpoſition?

A. No, quite a different man.

Q. Do you recollect any expreſſions he has uſed in any of the meetings that led you to think him a quiet, well-meaning man?

A. I always underſtood he was ſo; I never heard him make uſe of an improper expreſſion ſince I was in the ſociety.

Q. Did you ever hear Mr. Hardy make any propoſition for arms or pikes?

A. Never.

Q. Was you ever preſent when any propoſition of that ſort was made, when he aſſented to it, or encouraged it?

A. I never was preſent and heard any thing of the kind mentioned, but what was mentioned by me in the ſhop, and no perſon was preſent but Mr. Hardy and myſelf.

Q. Did any thing more paſs between Mr. Hardy and you than what you have mentioned here?

A. No more.

Q. Did you tell Mr. Hardy that you had made a pike?

A. I did.

Q. Did you tell him for what purpoſe you had made it?

A. I did not tell him for what purpoſe.

Q. He knew you was a member of the ſociety?

A. Yes.

Q. This bill that has been talked of, upon what occaſion did Baxter give it you?

A. He gave it to two or three perſons; I aſked him to give me one.

Q. Why did you aſk to have a thing of that ſort, ſo perfectly indecent, abſurd, and ridiculous?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. If you had added infamous, it would have been quite proper—it ſhould not be mentioned without ſome term that ſtrongly expreſſes deteſtation—and ridiculous is not enough; I am ſure you think ſo.

Mr. Erſkine. I certainly do think ſo——Give me leave to aſk, how you came to aſk for a bill of that deſcription?

A. I ſaw it at a diſtance, and could not read it; I wiſhed to ſatisfy my curioſity, and aſked Baxter to give me one.

Q. His Lordſhip having given a proper epithet to this bill, as a deteſtable thing, did you ever hear any thing paſs from any member of the ſociety, and more eſpecially from the priſoner, which leads you to conclude that he would approve of a thing of that nature?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear any expreſſion paſs in the courſe of their meetings that would lead you to believe they would think otherwiſe of the bill than his Lordſhip and I have now expreſſed our ſentiments upon it?

A. I heard another perſon on the ſame night ſay, it was an infamous thing, and too bad to be countenanced; it was only given to two or three.

Q. Have you any reaſon to believe the priſoner was acquainted with, connected with, or had ſeen that bill?

A. I do not believe he had ever ſeen it; I have no reaſon to know that he had ever ſeen it.

Q. From what you had an opportunity of obſerving of the priſoner at the bar, do you believe he would have encouraged a bill of that deſcription?

A. I do not believe any ſuch thing.

John Edwards.

Re-examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. With reſpect to this infamous bill, which was conſidered to by thoſe who received it; you received it in a diviſion meeting?

A. Not at a diviſion meeting.

Q. You received it from a member of the diviſion?

A. Not at that diviſion.

Q. From a member of the Correſponding Society, Baxter?

A. It was.

Q. Three months before the date mentioned in it, the 30th of January?

A. Near three months.

Q. Now with reſpect to its abſurdity and folly, having ſeen two or three delivered to different perſons, you aſked for one?

A. I did.

Q. That was not preciſely the ſame bill that has been delivered to-day?

A. Not the ſame; not ſo large.

Q. This is a ſubſequent one, larger, and of another date?

A. It is.

Q. That purporting to be an entertainment on the 30th of January—this purporting to be on the firſt of April ſucceeding?

A. It is.

Q. You did not form any pike for yourſelf, until after you had heard from Mr. Yorke, that the ſociety at Sheffield were preparing pikes for themſelves?

A. I heard Mr. Yorke mention one night at the diviſion, that the people at Sheffield had got pikes?

Q. Was it Mr. Yorke's intimation of what had paſſed at Sheffield, that led you to apply to Mr. Hardy for a direction to procure pike blades from that town?

A. No, I went of my own accord.

Q. What induced you to go to Mr. Hardy for a direction to a perſon at Sheffield, who would forge the blades for ſome pikes?

A. Becauſe I underſtood Mr. Hardy knew who were the perſons, or the ſecretary of the ſociety at Sheffield would know who were the perſons to whom I could ſend.

Q. If I underſtand you right, the particular occaſion upon which theſe pikes were to be made, was upon the landing of Heſſian troops without the conſent of Parliament?

A. Not upon that occaſion, I ſaid I made it juſt at the time that the Heſſian troops were landed without conſent of Parliament.

Q. Then your making pikes had not any relation, I take for granted, to the landing of the Heſſian troops without conſent of Parliament; I miſtook you when I took it ſo?

A. Not in conſequence of their being landed.

Q. Nor at all connected with that?

A. No; I only ſaid I made it at that time.

Q. Did you know that the Sheffield Society, which was in correſpondence with your ſociety, had publiſhed a reſolution, "that the landing of Heſſian troops in this country (a ferocious "and unprincipled horde of butchers) without conſent of Par-"liament, has a ſuſpicious and alarming appearance; is contrary "to the ſpirit of our conſtitution, and deſerving of the marked "indignation of every Engliſhman; that it is high time to be "upon our guard, ſince theſe armed monſters may in a moment "be let looſe upon us?"

A. I do not recollect that.

Q. Do you venture to ſay that you never heard of that at that time from Mr. Yorke?

A. Not at that time.

Q. How ſoon did you hear of that reſolution from the Sheffield Society?

A. Not for ſome time after.

Q. Upon your oath, was your pike completed before you heard of it in your diviſion meetings?

A. No, it was not.

Q. Upon your oath will you venture to ſay you began to make it before that communication from Sheffield was made to your ſociety?

A. No;

A. No; I had not begun it.

Q. Then I believe I was right in what I took down, that your making that pike was becauſe Heſſian troops were landed without the conſent of Parliament?

A. I did not make it on that account, but I made it juſt at the time.

Q. Did you make it ſoon after Yorke had communicated that the Sheffield Society had come to ſpirited reſolutions upon landing thoſe troops?

A. I never heard him ſay any thing upon that ſubject.

Q. Where did you hear it?

A. I learnt it from a book that I purchaſed at Eaton's ſhop.

Q. At Eaton's ſhop in Newgate-ſtreet, the Cock and Swine?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Eaton a member of one of your ſocieties?

A. He was.

Q. This was to prevent any illegal diſperſion of your ſociety?

A. It was.

Q. How long had your ſociety met in General Meetings and in Secret Committees without the uſe of pikes, or the fabrication of any, antecedent to the reſolutions at Sheffield as to landing Heſſian troops?

A. I ſuppoſe for two years.

Q. Had you met with any interruption whatever in your meetings, except that which you have named of two Police Officers, coming into the public-houſe, and ſtating that they wanted to ſee if there were any men fit to ſerve his Majeſty?

A. A diviſion in Bunhill-row was often interrupted by the Police Officers.

Q. Had you met with any interruption in your general meetings, committees, or ſecret committees, except from peace officers?

A. No.

Samuel Williams (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. What are you?

A. A gun engraver.

Q. Do you know the priſoner at the bar, Mr. Hardy?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Franklow?

A. I do.

Q. Where did you firſt meet with Franklow?

A. At his own houſe.

Q. Did you ever ſee him at the priſoner's?

A. No.

Q. Were Hardy and Franklow together at any time when you ſaw them?

A. Never.

Q. Was Franklow a member of the London Correſponding Society, or the Society for Conſtitutional Information?

A. Of the London Correſponding Society.

Q. Did Franklow ever apply to you to make any arms for him?

A. Yes.

Q. About what time?

A. I cannot be poſitive to the time.

Q. Were you a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. Yes.

Q. Upon what occaſion did you become a member of it?

A. The firſt inducement I had of being a member of the London Correſponding Society, was by ſeeing an advertiſement in the Daily Advertiſer from the London Correſponding Society.

Q. About what time?

A. In the laſt year; about the middle of the year.

Q. You became a member, in what manner?

A. I ſaw an advertiſement in the Daily Advertiſer of a general meeting to be held in the Strand; I ſaw that tickets of admiſſion were to be had of Thomas Hardy, Secretary to the Correſponding Society, No. 9, Piccadilly. I went to him; he informed me that it was not cuſtomory to give tickets to any but ſuch as were members of the ſociety, which I told him I was not; we had ſome further converſation.

Q. What

Q. What was that further converſation?

A. It was ſomething concerning a Reform in Parliament; I cannot relate the converſation.

Q. Do your mean to ſay the ſubject of the converſation you have deſcribed, was to ſtate what the object of the ſociety was?

A. It was for a Reform in Parliament.

Q. Did Hardy tell you ſo?

A. Yes; he gave me one of the London Correſponding Society's addreſſes which they had publiſhed. I gave him an order for a pair of ſhoes; the next time I went to his houſe I had the ſhoes—I told him I was in the line of ſelling guns, if he knew any perſon that wanted ſuch things, I ſhould be obliged to him if he would recommend me; he told me he did not know any perſon, if he heard of any perſon he would let me know; the next time I went to his houſe, he told me to bring a gun and the price, which I did.

Q. How long was that after you had firſt ſeen him?

A. About a fortnight or three weeks—I took a gun to him, which he ſold.

Q. On your account or his?

A. On my account. I gave him an order for a pair of boots, which he made me, and told me to bring two or three more guns, which he ſold likewiſe, and one gun was in his houſe, which was never ſold, which I never was paid for.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Spence?

A. I did, I ſaw him once.

Q. Was he a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. I never had any converſation with him in my life.

Q. Where did he live?

A. In Little Turnſtile, Holborn.

Q. Did you ever ſee Franklow there?

A. I did.

Q. Upon what occaſion did you go to Spence's houſe?

A. To inſtruct perſons in the manual exerciſe.

Q. At whoſe requeſt did you go to Spence's houſe?

A. At the requeſt of Mr. Franklow.

Q. How many perſons did you ſee in Mr. Spence's houſe that were aſſembled for the purpoſe of learning the manual exerciſe?

A. Four or five.

Q. Do you mean to ſay that you ſaw four or five at one time, or that four or five were all you ſaw, at all the times you were there?

A. I ſuppoſe there might be ſix or ſeven, at all the times I was there?

Q. In what part of the houſe did they exerciſe?

A. In a room up ſtairs, I believe, a two pair of ſtairs room, but I am not poſitive whether a one or two pair of ſtairs room; it was a ſmall triangular room.

Q. Forward or backward?

A. I believe, forward.

Q. At what time?

A. Between the hours of eight and ten in the evening.

Q. At what time of the year?

A. Going on towards Chriſtmas.

Q. It was of courſe dark then?

A. It was.

Q. Did you exerciſe them by candle light in the room?

A. Yes.

Q. Where there any ſhutters to the windows or curtains, or were the windows open?

A. I believe there were curtains, but I cannot be poſitive.

Q. Was there anybody elſe but yourſelf to exerciſe them.

A. No, there was not.

Q. Did you act then as the perſon to teach them their exerciſe, ſerjeant or corporal, or whatever it might be?

A. I did.

Q. What night in the week was it that you uſed to meet?

A. I believe it was on a Thurſday night.

Q. Who introduced you at firſt to the London Correſponding Society?

A. I told Mr. Hardy that I ſhould be glad to become a member of the London Correſponding Society, but did not know any perſon to introduce me, he named ſeveral perſons but I did not

not know either of them, he ſaid he would propoſe me, it was upon his propoſition that I became a member of the London Correſponding Society.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. How ſoon after your firſt meeting Hardy, did you become a member?

A. It might be a fortnight or three weeks, I cannot be poſitive.

Mr. Bower. Did you know any thing of a ſociety called the Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation?

A. Yes, that was the aſſociation to which thoſe people belonged.

Q. Did you ever go to Lambeth to exerciſe them?

A. I went to Mr. Franklow's houſe.

Q. Where did he live?

A. At No. 1, China Walk, Lambeth.

Q. How did you find where his houſe was?

A. When I went to Mr. Hardy's, one night, he gave me Mr. Franklow's card, and told me, that he was going to raiſe an Aſſociation, and wanted ſome perſon to ſupply them with arms.

Q. How ſoon after you had been introduced to Hardy was that?

A. It might have been ſix weeks or two months, I cannot ſay.

Q. In conſequence of that, did you get a card or addreſs from Hardy to Franklow?

A. I had a card.

Q. When did you go to Franklow's houſe?

A. It was two or three nights after I was at Hardy's.

Q. Did you find the ſame people there that you met at Spence's, or were they different people?

A. Different people.

Q. What did you do when you went to Franklow's, as to the people you met there?

A. They were then reading over the articles.

Q. What articles?

A. The articles of the Lambeth Aſſociation.

Q. Do you happen to know whether the Lambeth Aſſociation was compoſed of inhabitants of Lambeth?

A. No,

A. No, it was not.

Q. What was the name they gave themſelves?

A. The Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation.

Q. It was not compoſed of inhabitants of Lambeth, you ſay?

A. Not entirely.

Q. Who were inhabitants of Lambeth, that you knew of that aſſociation—Franklow lived there?

A. Yes.

Q. Who elſe do you know of that aſſociation, that were pariſhioners, or inhabitants of Lambeth?

A. I cannot ſay I know any, I did not know where the people lived.

Q. How often might you attend at Franklow's for the purpoſe of diſciplining theſe men?

A. Mr. Franklow himſelf diſciplined them at his own houſe.

Q. Did you happen to know, by any means, how many there were of Lambeth people, that were in this Lambeth Aſſociation?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you happen to know, from Franklow, or any of them, whether they had applied to any magiſtrate, or had applied for any authority to hold this Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation?

A. They had not, to my knowledge.

Q. How many muſkets did you yourſelf ſupply for the uſe of this aſſociation?

A. Eleven.

Q. By whoſe direction did you ſupply thoſe eleven muſkets?

A. Mr. Franklow's.

Q. Who paid you for them?

A. Mr. Franklow.

Q. For all of them?

A. For all but one.

Q. What were the arms, guns, or what?

A. Muſkets.

Q. Had you any orders or intimation given to you, whether or no any more arms would be wanted for the uſe of that aſſociation?

A. There

A. There were to have been ſixty.

Q. Do you know for what purpoſe that Lambeth Aſſociation was formed?

A. According to the articles, it was in caſe ———.

Q. Look at theſe, and tell me whether thoſe are the articles of their aſſociation?

A. Thoſe were the articles.

One of the Jury. Were theſe fuzee's?

A. They were all muſkets.

Mr. Bower. Were there any bayonets?

A. Muſkets, with ſteel rammers, and bayonets complete.

(*The Preamble to the Articles read.*)

"*Rules, Articles and Regulations; to be obſerved by the Mem-*
"*bers of the Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation. London: Printed*
"*for the Society,* 1792.

"Whereas the fear of invaſion, and civil commotions, have
"alarmed ſeveral of the inhabitants of this pariſh and its
"vicinity, we have thought proper to form ourſelves into a
"military aſſociation, to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the
"*Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation,* united for the defence of their
"country, lives and property; and againſt all ſubverters, and
"levellers of peace and good order; ever ready to ſtep for-
"ward in the above caſe when called upon, within the pariſh
"of St. Mary's, Lambeth."

Mr. Bower. Where did you ſay Spence's houſe was?

A. In Little Turnſtile, Holborn.

Q. That was the place where theſe aſſociations, of the pariſh of Lambeth, met.

A. Part of them; and part of them met at John Shelmerdine's.

Q. Where is John Shelmerdine's?

A. Near the Borough, in Southwark.

Q. Do you happen to know whether there was a ſingle perſon, that was diſciplined, either at Franklow's or Spence's, who was not a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. I really cannot inform you.

Q. We

Q. Were all that you knew members of that ſociety?

A. I never made that enquiry.

Mr. Erſkine. We wiſh to have the articles read.

" *Rules, Articles, &c.*

" ART. I. This Aſſociation ſhall conſiſt of one Captain, one " Lieutenant, one Enſign, a Serjeant-Major, three Serjeants, " three Corporals, Sixty Rank and File, two Drummers and " Fifers.

" ART. II. Every perſon propoſed and recommended, ſhall " be named a week previous to his introduction, and well known " by the member who recommends him.

" ART. III. Every member ſhall pay weekly into the hands " of the Treaſurer (choſen out of the Aſſociation) the ſum of " One Shilling and Sixpence, for purchaſing Arms, and Accou- " trements, as likewiſe towards defraying the incidental expences " of this Aſſociation, the ſubſcriptions to be leſſened when the " above Articles are purchaſed.

" ART. IV. The Officers are all elective quarterly, as like- " wiſe a Committee of ſeven members, the Committee to re- " gulate the internal affairs of the Aſſociation; the Serjeant- " Major and Treaſurer are not elective quarterly, but hold " their office during pleaſure of the members of this Aſſociation, " and at all times while in office, are members of the Commit- " tee, over and above the ſeven members ballotted out of the " Aſſociation.

" ART. V. As the protection of public and private pro- " perty is the object of this Aſſociation, we hereby engage to " ſtep forth in caſe of fire, tumults, commotions, and riots, but " not beyond the Pariſh of St. Mary's, Lambeth.

" ART. VI. The uniforms of this Aſſociation, is a blue " coat lappelled, ſcarlet collar, plain gilt buttons, white waiſt- " coat, nankeen breeches, white ſtockings, half-black gaters, " black ſtock, cocked hat and cockade.

" ART. VII. As the further object of this Aſſociation, is the " encouragement of its members in their different callings, it " is therefore reſolved, that ſuch articles as are uſed by this Aſ-

" ſociation

" ſociation, to be had of its members, and when two or more " members are of one profeſſion to be equally divided.

" ART. VIII. That ſwords, eppulets, ſaſhes, and ſword- " knots; be purchaſed out of the ſtock of the Aſſociation, for " the uſe of officers.

" ART. IX. That this Aſſociation have four Quarterly " Meetings, viz. the firſt Monday after the four regular quar- " ters; when the Officers and Committee, are to be choſen: " Audit the Treaſurer's accounts, and other neceſſary buſineſs.

" ART. X. As no Armourer is to be appointed to this " Aſſociation, every member ſhall keep his own Piece, and " Accoutrements clean.

" ART. XI. That the place of Meeting be in or near the " Town of Lambeth, in as commodious a place as can be " procured.

" ART. XII. That every member clear the book, once a " month, on neglect to fine one Shilling, all fines whatever to " be added to the joint ſtock of this Aſſociation.

" XIII. That Mr. *Francklow* is appointed Serjeant-Major " of this Aſſociation, as likewiſe Treaſurer and Secretary, " whoſe duty is to inſtruct the members in the uſe of Arms, " and military diſcipline, for which two-pence a week be paid " him from each member (out of the ſubſcription) while learn- " ing, to attend twice a week, Wedneſday and Friday Evenings " from ſeven to ten o'clock. As Treaſurer he is to receive all " ſubſcriptions, and account with the Committee every fort- " night, in order that they may iſſue ſuch payments for Articles " received in this Aſſociation; as Secretary, to keep the Muſter- " Roll and Book of this Aſſociation.

" *The above* ARTICLES, *&c. were agreed to, and ſigned by* " *the following Members:*

" JOHN PHILIP FRANCKLOW.
" JOHN SHELMERDINE.
" JOHN WILLIAMSON.
" JAMES DAVISON.
" SAMUEL WILLIAMS.

" Nov. 15th. 1793."

Mr.

Mr. Bower. This Aſſociation was for the purpoſe of ſtepping forth in caſe of fire, tumults, commotions, and riots; but they were not to go beyond the pariſh of St. Mary's, Lambeth. I aſked you, before, whether any of thoſe members, except Franklow that you knew, were inhabitants of the pariſh of Lambeth—you ſaid not?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Did you know any of them?

A. I knew that ſome of them were not.

Q. How came Spence's houſe, in Turnſtile, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, to be a place fixed upon for exerciſing the members of the Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation, who were not to go beyond the bounds of their own pariſh?

A. I can tell no otherwiſe, only, that they could not get any place elſe. It was thought proper, by Franklow, and ſome others, that as they could not get members faſt enough, that the Aſſociation ſhould be divided into ten diviſions; one diviſion to be up at Spence's—another at John Shelmerdine's—another in Weſtminſter, at Williamſon's; where the others were to be I do not know.

Q. Had you, at the time that you were ſupplying arms to this ſociety, any converſations with them upon the ſubject of Parliamentary Reform; or did you hear any converſation among them reſpecting that.

A. Yes; there was converſation of that kind paſſed between them, more times than once, at the times of their meetings.

Q. What was the ſubject of thoſe converſations, or did thoſe converſations reſpect at all the end of their Aſſociation?

A. I cannot tell; I never minuted any thing down.

Q. Can you tell the ſubſtance of any converſation they had upon the ſubject of Parliamentary Reform?

A. I can go no further than this, that I could collect ſo far as this, that if they could not get a Reform of Parliament without it, they would endeavour to have got it by the force of arms.

Q. I aſk you from the converſation of the members of that aſſociation that met——

Mr. Gibbs. I object to this—I underſtand the court has determined

termined that any thing that any member of the Correſponding Society ſays, is evidence againſt Mr. Hardy; but I do not apprehend that the court has determined that every thing ſaid by the members of the Lambeth Aſſociation, whom the witneſs does not know to be members of the Correſponding Society is evidence, conſequently the queſtion put, of what this man has heard from any member of the Lambeth Aſſociation, unleſs he can fix that he heard it from ſome of thoſe that compoſe the Correſponding Society, is not evidence.

Mr. Bower. I underſtood you, that Hardy gave you the addreſs of Franklow?

A. Yes; he gave me his card.

Q. In conſequence of which you went to Franklow's, and there met this ſociety?

A. Yes.

Mr. Bower. I conceive when I prove that a number perſons aſſemble together, under the directions of the priſoner, that I can give evidence of their converſation?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. The moment you have proved one of the terms of your propoſition you are right; at the moment it is proved that this aſſociation of Franklow's was under the direction of the priſoner, undoubtedly every thing they do will be evidence againſt the priſoner; but I do not obſerve that the evidence goes farther than this—in the courſe of trade Williams buying ſhoes and boots of Hardy, Hardy recommends him to Franklow, in the way of his buſineſs, and there is nothing that I can diſcover, at preſent, to connect Franklow's tranſaction, with regard to this aſſociation, with Hardy, except ſo far as the members of it, can be traced to be members of the London Correſponding Society: you have examined with a view to that, and it appeared to me that that examination rather failed, for he did not undertake to know that any of thoſe people were members of that ſociety.

Mr. Bower. I will ſee if I can get the facts a little more [redacted] Franklow a member [redacted] London Correſ-

Q. Did

Q. Did you know Shelmerdine?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he a member?

A. He was.

Q. Do you know John Williamſon?

A. Yes; but I cannot ſay whether he was a member or not.

Q. Do you know James Daviſon?

A. I never ſaw him but once.

Q. Do you know whether he was a member of the Correſponding Society?

A. I cannot take upon me to ſay.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Franklow was a member of the London Correſponding Society—this Aſſociation undoubtedly was formed by him—it is his creature abſolutely; and therefore that is the ground on which the tranſaction of that aſſociation muſt be let in.

Mr. Solicitor General. It has already been proved that at the dinner, on the 20th of January, Franklow appeared in the regimentals of this aſſociation.

Mr. Gibbs. He did ſo; but I do not apprehend that if any gentleman who wears a particular uniform had appeared up ſtairs at dinner with your lordſhips to-day, that your lordſhips would be affected by any thing which a member of the ſociety, to which that gentleman belonged had ſaid. I might put the caſe of ſome gentlemen who did dine with your lordſhips, who are engaged in ſocieties that wear uniforms: ſuppoſe one of thoſe gentlemen had happened to dine with your lordſhips up ſtairs in that uniform, by the argument the Solicitor General uſes, becauſe he appeared in his uniform, at dinner with your lordſhips, therfore, what any one ſaid who belonged to the ſociety, diſtinguiſhed by that uniform, would be evidence againſt all thoſe who had dined with that gentleman. It ſeems to me that is an argument which cannot ſtand for a moment.

Another way in which it has been put by my learned friend, Mr. Bower, is this—That becauſe Mr. Franklow being a member of the London Correſponding Society, preſided at another ſociety, for a purpoſe that is not connected with the

London

London Correſponding Society---therefore, firſt his declarations are evidence againſt Hardy, becauſe he is one of thoſe thouſands of whom the London Correſponding Society conſiſts; and next, if he conſtitutes another ſociety conſiſting of ten thouſand men, every thing, that every one of thoſe ten thouſand men, who are conſtituted by one man that belongs to the two or three thouſand of which the London Correſponding Society conſiſts, is to be evidence againſt Mr. Hardy---It does not ſeem to me that there is any principle of law upon which any of thoſe men who happened to belong to a ſociety, inſtituted by Franklow, he happening to be a member of the ſociety, of which Hardy was a member, that the declarations of any one of thoſe men ſo ſubconnected with the ſociety, no, not even upon oath, can be evidence againſt Hardy, to prove either that he has compaſſed the King's death, or done any of the acts ſtated in this indictment, or that thoſe acts were pointed to that deſign againſt the King's life. Perhaps, I am leſs diſtinct in arguing the caſe, before your lordſhip, becauſe, I confeſs, I do not feel any principle upon which this can be contended to be evidence.

Mr. Bower. I will prove that none were to be admitted into Franklow's Aſſociation, but members of the London Correſponding Society.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Whether the principle will apply to the particular fact is another thing; but it has been ſo often ſtated, that I am ſurprized we have not had the good fortune to make ourſelves underſtood by the bar, becauſe we have ſtated from the beginning of this trial, that there was a ſpecies of evidence, which was admiſſible in this caſe, which had no immediate relation to the priſoner; and that there was another ſpecies of evidence which had immediate relation to the priſoner---that inaſmuch as the priſoner is charged with being involved in a conſpiracy, and ſome evidence being given of his having been ſo involved, that all the tranſactions of that conſpiracy, to which he is not immediately a party, he will be bound by, if, upon the whole, he has conſented to that general conſpiracy; and that, therefore, all the tranſactions of a plot are always given in evidence, without regard to the queſtion, whether the priſoner

is proved to be concerned in thoſe particular tranſactions—always with this reſerve, that there muſt be evidence enough againſt the priſoner to prove him ſo involved in the plot, as to become reſponſible for all the parts of it—that ſeems ſufficiently diſtinct.

But there may be a doubt whether this particular caſe falls within the principle. The firſt queſtion is—whether there is any evidence here of Franklow's being a member of the London Correſponding Society; if the only proof of that is, that he dined in an uniform at their annual dinner, I ſhould have great difficulty about that, becauſe, I underſtand, that they were in the habit of receiving viſitors as well as entertaining their own members—that being ſo, a man might be there without being a member of the London Correſponding Society.

Suppoſing it once proved diſtinctly that he was a member of the London Correſponding Society, then the queſtion will be, was he a member of the Correſponding Society, who is charged with having a great ſhare in the whole of this tranſaction—is found to be aſſociating perſons together under a pretence not true in fact, of their being inhabitants of Lambeth, and aſſociating for the defence of the inhabitants of Lambeth; that they are furniſhed with arms, are learning the manual exerciſe, and are connected with the ſociety, either by Franklow's being, or being themſelves members of the Correſponding Society. I cannot undertake to ſay, that that will not connect with the general hiſtory of this tranſaction; and, therefore, there may be room upon that ground to admit the evidence; but firſt of all, how is the fact with regard to Franklow being a member?

Mr. Gibbs. I could underſtand how Franklow's declarations were evidence, but the point that puzzled me was, I could not underſtand how the declarations of thoſe men who were only concerned with Franklow in his aſſociation, could be evidence, becauſe it ſeems to me upon the ſame principle that the declarations of people ſub-employed by them, and of others ſub-employed by them, and ſo on, would be evidence.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Unleſs they can be put exactly in the condition of Franklow, your objection is right.

Mr. Attorney General. Was Franklow a member of the Correſponding Society?

A. He was.

Mr Bower. Whether, previous to your admiſſion into that ſociety, you had any converſation with the priſoner about the London Correſponding Society, about providing arms for the Lambeth Aſſociation?

A. I cannot recollect.

Q. Were you admitted a member of the London Correſponding Society, before you were employed by the Lambeth Aſſociation?

A. Yes.

Q. How happened you to be admitted a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. Mr. Hardy told me to meet a young man who would go with me to the diviſion, and I ſhould be admitted, and I was by that means admitted.

Q. Before you were admitted to the Lambeth Aſſociation, were you aſked at all whether you were a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. I do not recollect that I was.

Q. Did Franklow know that you was?

A. I have no reaſon to think he did not; I believe he did.

Q. Hardy did know it?

A. Yes.

Q. From the converſation of the members there aſſociated—

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Enquire what the converſation was, becauſe whether he rightly collects the effect of it or not, cannot be known with certainty.

Mr. Bower. Tell us the ſubſtance of any converſation you have heard amongſt the members of this ſociety reſpecting the purpoſes of this aſſociation for a Parliamentary Reform?

Mr. Gibbs. It ſeems to me that it is not open to Mr. Bower to fix the priſoner with what the witneſs may fancy he has collected from converſations that he has heard at this ſociety, without mentioning who thoſe perſons were from whom he heard it, for how am I to contradict it.

Mr. Bower. If you ever heard any converſations of the kind, do you recollect any of the members of the ſociety who were preſent?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You ſaid you underſtood from converſation amongſt them, what they intended to do. Now what were thoſe converſations, and from whom did you hear thoſe converſations?

A. I really cannot name the perſons; I make no doubt but what Mr. Nodder and Mr. Sanderſon themſelves might be preſent, they were members of the ſame aſſociation.

Mr. Bower. Did you hear any thing from Franklow about a Parliamentary Reform?

A. I cannot ſay I recollect any thing that he ſaid particularly; he was preſent when ſuch converſation paſſed.

Frederick Polydore Nodder (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. Were you a member of the Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation?

A. No.

Q. Were you ever preſent with them?

A. No.

Q. Were you ever at Spence's in Turnſtile?

A. I was.

Q. Were you ever there when any of the Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation were there?

A. I cannot tell, for I do not know any thing of any perſons of that deſcription.

George Sanderſon (ſworn.)

Examinined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. Were you ever preſent at any meeting of the Loyal Lambeth Aſſociation?

A. None of that deſcription as I know of.

Mr. Bower to Williams. Did you ever hear any converſation in the preſence of Franklow, from the perſons who were preſent there at that aſſociation?

A. Yes; I have ſaid ſo already.

Q. You have in the preſence of Franklow, though you do not know the perſons?

A. Yes.

Mr. Bower. I ſubmit that is ſufficient to let in the evidence.

Mr. Juſtice Groſe. But let us hear the converſation, Mr. Bower, not what he collected.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. All that can affect Franklow by the general evidence, muſt be admiſſible.

Mr. Erſkine. The Court has ruled frequently in the courſe of the trial; and it would be indecent in us to argue it again—that any thing ſaid or done by any member of the London Correſponding Society, or any members of any other ſociety with which that ſociety is implicated, will be evidence to prove the firſt branch of the conſpiracy, and that they muſt go on to build upon that evidence, that which is neceſſary afterwards to affect the priſoner. Therefore I ſubmit to your Lordſhips what I take to be the diſtinction here—Mr. Bower was going on to prove that all the members of the Lambeth Aſſociation were members of the Correſponding Society, which would put an end to our objection; or ſuppoſing they were not all members, if the witneſs had ſaid that what was done came from a member of the Correſponding Society, then I apprehend it will be evidence alſo; but your Lordſhip has truly ſaid, that Mr. Hardy does not ſeem to be more connected with Williams, the Serjeant Major of this particular body, than merely in the courſe of trade he aſked him if he knew any body that wanted guns, he ſaid he did not; this man made ſhoes for him; in the courſe of a fortnight or three weeks after he recommended him to Franklow, but *non conſtat* that at the time he recommended him to Franklow, he knew the articles of his aſſociation, he only knew Franklow in his character of a member of the London Correſponding Society; therefore I conceive it would be going beyond the rule your Lordſhip has eſtabliſhed, for a man to ſtate what he heard in the preſence of Franklow, who might be attending to ſomething elſe, or who might not approve of what was ſaid, and which might have nothing to do with his inſtitution; it would be too much to affect the priſoner, particularly at ſo late a period of the cauſe, (though I do not mean to ſay that would make any ſpecific difference) with a declaration ſo very inconſiſtent with

what your Lordſhip has already heard upon this ſubject; it therefore ſeems to me an object of greater ſuſpicion, and more our duty to guard againſt. The witneſs has ſaid he cannot ſpecify who the perſon was, and if they were not all members of the London Correſponding Society, *non conſtat*, that the man was a member of the London Correſponding Society.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Nothing turns upon the queſtion, whether Hardy did or not recommend Williams to Franklow, the ground of its admiſſibility is ſimply, that Franklow was a member of the London Correſponding Society—then as a ground of the general conſpiracy, it is offered to prove that Franklow had formed an aſſociation of armed men, to which aſſociation they will impute a deſign connected with this alleged conſpiracy; whatever, therefore, will fix Franklow with that, has been conſidered as proper evidence to that general charge; and the only queſtion, therefore is, whether laying, for a moment, the priſoner out of the caſe, ſuppoſing Franklow himſelf at the bar—whether if he makes an aſſociation of perſons of this deſcription, and, if there are converſations paſſing in his preſence, from whence a bad deſign can be imputed to this aſſociation, whether that is not admiſſible evidence as againſt him; what the effect of the evidence will be, it is truly obſerved, will depend upon a thouſand circumſtances; whether he was attending, whether, if he was attending, he approved or diſaproved of it? all which may avoid the effect of the evidence; ſtill it ſeems to me that as againſt Franklow, and to fix upon him the having been guilty of forming this aſſociation for a bad purpoſe, the tranſactions that paſs in his hearing are clearly evidence.

Mr. Bower to Williams. You told me Mr. Sanderſon and Mr. Nodder were preſent at a converſation that I ſhould have aſked you to, if I had been admitted; were they preſent at Spence's, Franklow's, or Shelmerdine's?

A. I have only ſeen them at Shelmerdine's and Spence's.

Frederick Polydore Nodder (called in again,)

Examined by *Mr. Bower.*

Q. You are a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. I am.

A. I am.

Q. Were you preſent at either Spence's or Shelmerdine's, and at which, at the time the laſt witneſs, Williams, was there, and when perſons were aſſembled for the purpoſe of being drill'd?

A. To my knowledge I never ſaw Williams but at Spence's.

Q. You have been with Williams at Spence's, when the perſons were aſſembled that he was drilling and teaching the manual exerciſe?

A. I have.

Q. When you were there, did you from any perſons there, hear any converſation———

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Did you ſay you was a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. Yes; I am a member of the 13th diviſion; here is my ticket *(producing it.)*

Mr. Bower. Do you know whether the perſons who were there, were members of the London Correſponding Society or not?

A. I cannot ſay whether all were; ſome of them were.

(The Ticket read.)

"No. 35, London Correſponding Society, united for a Reform of Parliamentary Repreſentation—Unite, perſevere, and be free—Diviſion No. 13." On the back—"Frederick Nodder, paid to Midſummer tenpence, Samuel Cooper, 1794."

Mr. Bower. I cannot carry this further, and therefore I muſt leave it to the ſenſe of the Court.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I underſtand the Court to have decided that you may enquire into converſations in the preſence of Franklow.

Mr. Erſkine. To what was ſaid, but not what he collected.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Not what he collected.

Mr. Bower to Williams. Tell me any converſation you recollect when Franklow was preſent reſpecting the London Correſponding Society?

A. I cannot recollect the converſations.

 Q. Can

Q. Can you recollect any part of them; how did you collect it?

A. By being with them at various times, and hearing different talk; there were ſome among them which I did not take any notice of, or give myſelf any concern about.

Q. When they met at all, was the ſubject of Parliamentary Reform introduced at all as a topic of converſation?

A. No; only ſome would be talking one to the other.

Q. You mean it was not general converſation, not as a debate, or any thing of that kind?

A. No.

Q. But they were talking to each other?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they talking ſo that Franklow heard them?

A. Private perſons might talk about it.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. We ought to be always very correct when collecting what people ſaid. I think you had better not preſs it.

Mr. Bower. You heard from Franklow that they were to conſiſt of ſixty?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear from Franklow whether they were to have any more, or that was to be the utmoſt quantity they were to have?

A. That was to be the number.

Q. Had you any directions from Franklow or Hardy upon the ſubject of arms, or of any other kind?

A. I was one night in Mr. Hardy's ſhop, and there was a perſon there aſked me how long I thought I ſhould be to get a thouſand.

Q. Was Mr. Hardy preſent?

A. He was preſent; it was a ſtranger; he aſked how long I thought I ſhould be getting a thouſand guns; I told him I could not think of getting ſo many in the ſituation that I was in.

Q. What ſaid Hardy to it?

A. I do not know that he made any reply.

Q. Was

Q. Was any thing more ſaid?

A. They ſaid they might get a thouſand from Sheffield; I ſaid ſuch a thing might be, but I could not undertake any thing of the kind; there, as far as I recollect, the converſation ended.

George Sanderſon,

Examined by *Mr. Law.*

Q. Where do you live?

A. In Butcher-row, Temple-bar.

Q. You keep a public-houſe there, the Bunch of Grapes?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever been at Spence's with Nodder.

A. Yes.

Q. How long ago is it ſince you firſt went to Shelmerdine's, if ever you was there?

A. I muſt refer to the notes I have, the memorandum I made. *(Refers to his memorandum.)* It was the 2d of April.

Q. What was the occaſion of your going there?

A. It was to decide a bet.

Q. Did you ſee any fire arms there?

A. I did.

Q. Who did they belong to?

A. They belonged to the armed ſociety.

Q. Where were they?

A. At Shelmerdine's in the Borough.

Q. What is Shelmerdine?

A. A hatter.

Q. On what day was this?

A. The ſecond of April in the evening.

Q. Do you know of how many perſons this armed ſociety conſiſted?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. How many ſtand of arms did you find there?

A. I did not take particular notice, there might be ſeven or eight ſtand of arms there.

Q. Of how many perſons did this armed ſociety conſiſt?

A. I ſuppoſe of twenty-four or twenty-five members.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether all the perſons of the aſſociation were members of the London Correſponding Society?

A. I ſuppoſe they were, becauſe they objected to my being of the armed aſſociation becauſe I was not a member of the London Correſponding Society. I was made a member of the armed ſociety upon a promiſe that I would become a member of the London Correſponding Society.

Q. Did you afterwards become ſo?

A. I did.

Q. How many perſons have you ſeen at any one time together at this armed ſociety?

A. I think when I firſt met them at Shelmerdine's there might be twenty-four or twenty-five; they did not all meet at Shelmerdine's; we adjourned to another place; it was ſuppoſed to be dangerous to meet at Shelmerdine's; the adjournment had been agreed upon before I came there; the greater part of the arms had been removed.

Q. Who had you to teach you the military exerciſe there?

A. We did not exerciſe there.

Q. Or at the place to which you adjourned?

A. We did not exerciſe there, we only adjourned there for the purpoſe of fixing upon a proper place to exerciſe in.

Q. What was the houſe to which they did adjourn?

A. The houſe was in Worceſter-ſtreet.

Q. Was the name of the perſon Day?

A. The ſame—we went up ſtairs, they mentioned then that the private committee of the armed ſociety had fixed upon another place for exerciſing.

Q. Where did that private committee ſit?

A. They ſat with the reſt.

Q. At Day's?

A. Yes.

Q. What were thoſe places where you were to aſſemble?

A. One was at Spence's, the other was in Weſtminſter, juſt by Tothil-fields Bridewell, at a blackſmith's ſhed.

Q. Did you aſſemble with others at any time at either of thoſe places?

A. Yes;

A. Yes; I pretty conſtantly attended them; I went to Spence's firſt; we met once or twice a week.

Q. For what number of weeks did you meet?

A. I called ſeveral times when there were none there; it was the 14th of November, I think, I firſt of all went;—no; it was on the 11th of April, the firſt time I went to Spence's to exerciſe; I continued to go occaſionally to Spence's till May the 1ſt.

Q. From the 11th of April till May, you continued to go to Spence's, and this ſhed in Weſtminſter, for the purpoſes of exerciſing?

A. I did.

Q. Who was the perſon that generally taught you?

A. Formerly Williams; and Orr, from the 11th of April till May; on the firſt of May I took away my gun.

Q. What was the greateſt number of perſons you met, at either of thoſe places, during the period you have mentioned?

A. I do not think we ever met above ſix.

Q. And you was there taught the military exerciſe?

A. Yes.

Q. What was Orr?

A. I believe a Taylor; I have heard ſo.

Q. Had he ſerved abroad?

A. He mentioned frequently in converſation, that he had ſerved againſt the Allied Armies.

Q. Was he a member?

A. He was a member of the Correſponding Society; he had ſerved in the French army, from his own account.

Q. You were not at firſt admitted, but you became afterwards a member of the Correſponding Society?

A. I did.

Q. What was the reaſon that you did not go afterwards to exerciſe at Shelmerdines?

A. He was a Hatter, and frequently changed his men; and ſome of them, they obſerved, might not be ſtaunch to the cauſe, and therefore it might be hazardous.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Hazardous to the cauſe; to what cauſe?

A. If

A. If I might judge from the converſation, it was to obtain a Parliamentary Reform, at the point of the bayonet.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. When you ſay, the cauſe, do you mean the cauſe they were engaged in?

A. Yes.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You were in an aſſociation, and had articles of an aſſociation?

A. I never ſaw them.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Were not the articles acted upon?

A. Part of them were; that we were to pay ſo much upon admiſſion; one half of which was to buy arms, the other to defray the incidental expences of the ſociety.

Mr. Law. Was you a member of the 13th diviſion?

A. I was admitted a member the ſame night Mr. Nodder was, and received a ſimilar ticket.

Q. Did that meet at Robins's Coffee-Houſe, in Shire-lane?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember, upon the 3d of May, any member giving an account of the time when Mr. Pitt would probably be at the Houſe of Commons?

A. Yes; I perfectly well recollect the circumſtance; it was in the month of May; I do not recollect the night.

Q. What was the converſation that paſſed in the preſence of thoſe members, reſpecting the circumſtance I have mentioned?

A. One of the members got up, and ſaid, Citizens——

Mr. Erſkine. Who was the member?

A. I do not know.

Mr. Erſkine. I ſubmit it is neceſſary it ſhould appear, that he was a member of the Correſponding Society.

Mr. Law. Was it a member of the diviſion?

A. Yes; at this meeting none were admitted but members.

Q. What did this member ſay?

A. Citizens, Mr. Pitt will go over—I forget which of the bridges, but he mentioned one of the bridges, at twelve o'clock at night.

Q. Did he accompany that with any obſervation?

A. None;

A. None; there was a general clap upon the table, and ſome ſaid it was very improper to make any comments upon it.

Q. Was any thing further ſaid, at what bridge?

A. They mentioned the particular bridge, and on what occaſion he would be detained till twelve o'clock at night; I think it was Putney Bridge, but do not recollect the bridge to a certainty.

Q. Was any piece of good news, or any thing they called good news, announced, at that time, by one of the members?

A. Yes; there was ſome good news announced that very night, as they termed it.

Q. What was it?

A. A defeat of part of the Britiſh army; I do not recollect what.

Q. Was that called good news?

A. It was generally ſo underſtood by the ſociety.

Q. Was that, ſo deſcribed, ſo announced?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect any thing being mentioned, with reſpect to any of the King's Meſſengers?

A. I do.

Q. What was that?

A. That he had the pleaſure to inform the ſociety, that he heard one of the King's Meſſengers had been killed in the country.

Q. Do you remember a member of that ſociety of the name of Higgins?

A. I remember the name of Citizen Higgins, but I do not recollect his perſon.

Q. Do you remember any obſervation that a member made, reſpecting any of his relations?

A. I do recollect ſome obſervations, but cannot recollect the exact words; but I think he ſaid, if it had been his own father, or his own ſon, he ſhould be glad, if he met with the ſame fate.

Q. Had who been?

A. The Meſſenger.

Q. Was

Q. Was that man a near relation of any of the King's Meſſengers?

A. I do not know.

Q. Was that ſaid by Higgins?

A. I do not know; I do not know Higgins perſonally.

Q. Was any thing mentioned, by way of caution, to the members, for fear of ſpies?

A. It was frequently hinted to the members to be cautious, for fear of ſpies; to be careful what they ſaid; for, in all diviſions of the ſociety, ſpies from the Treaſury would creep in.

Q. Do you remember any propoſition for ſubdividing the meetings into a leſs number?

A. Yes; it was a propoſal, that, as they might be prevented meeting in public houſes, on account that their licences might be taken away, that they ſhould be divided into titheings, that they might meet at the houſe of every tenth man.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Was that your armed ſociety?

A. No; the London Correſponding Society.

Mr. Law. Was the propoſition acceded to?

A. It was deferred for further conſideration.

Q. Was there any mention of any one of the committee being a ſpy?

A. Not in particular that I recollect; there was ſome one alluded to, but I did not underſtand who it was.

Q. Was any thing ſaid what ſhould be done, if any ſpy was diſcovered among you?

A. One member obſerved, he ſhould not regard blowing any ſpy's brains out, if he diſcovered him.

Q. You had a muſket?

A. Yes.

Q. From whom?

A. From Williams.

Q. That muſket you have now?

A. No; I have not.

George

George Sanderſon,

Croſs-examined by *Mr. Erſkine.*

Q. So a member ſaid, he would not care for blowing any ſpy's brains out?

A. Yes.

Q. Was not you a little afraid when you heard that?

A. I was.

Q. Oh! you was a ſpy, was you?

A. I was.

Q. What was that paper you had in your hand, a little while ago?

A. Merely a memorandum of dates.

Q. I am glad you have it; we will go to work with dates;—I like a paper of dates; you will be bound by it?

A. I will be bound by it, upon my oath, as near as a man can be bound to a paper of dates.

Q. On what night was it, and at what place, that there was a rejoicing, that there was a defeat of the Britiſh troops, and when one of the members ſaid, that one of the King's Meſſengers had been killed; and, if it had been his own father, he ſhould have been glad, if he had met with the ſame fate?

A. I think it was the 21ſt.

Mr. Erſkine. None of your thinking, when you have the paper in your hands!

A. I have not a memorandum of the date.

Q. What date have you taken, good Mr. Spy?

A. I do not think, upon ſuch an occaſion, being a ſpy is any diſgrace.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Theſe obſervations are more proper when you come to addreſs the Jury.

Mr. Attorney General. Really that is not a proper way to examine witneſſes.—Lord Holt held ſtrong language to ſuch ſort of an addreſs from a Counſel to a witneſs, who avowed himſelf a ſpy.

Mr.

Mr. Erſkine. I am ſure I ſhall always pay that attention to the Court which is due from me; but I am not to be told by the Attorney General, how I am to examine a witneſs.

Mr. Attorney General. I thought you had not heard his Lordſhip.

Mr. Erſkine. I am much obliged to his Lordſhip for the admonition he gave me.—I heard his Lordſhip, and I heard you, which I ſhould not have heard.

What was the date when you ſay that paſſed, that there was a defeat of the Britiſh troops, and ſomebody ſaid, that there was a Meſſenger killed in the country, and he ſhould have been glad if it had it been his own father?

A. When firſt I was introduced into the 13th diviſion, was on the 21ſt of April, on a Monday.

Q. When was it you heard that converſation, from whence you collected, that the Reform of Parliament was to be carried at the point of the bayonet?

A. That was mentioned at the armed ſociety.

Q. Have you got any date for that?

A. Yes; I never was there but once, therefore I could not make an error in that; it was April the 2d.

Q. At what place?

A. At Day's.

Q. Where is Day's?

A. In the Borough, near the Grove; I believe it is called Worceſter-ſtreet.

Q. How many perſons were preſent at that time?

A. Some were going up ſtairs, and ſome going away; to the beſt of my recollection there might be twenty-two, twenty-three, or twenty-four; I did not count them, as I never expected to be called.

Q. You muſt have expected it?

A. I had every reaſon to ſuppoſe I ſhould not be called.

Q. I wiſh to know from you, whether, from the converſation that you are now ſtating, of obtaining a Reform of Parliament, at the point of the bayonet, whether you collected this from one perſon, or the general converſation of the whole people?

A. It

A. It ſeemed to be the opinion of the whole company, that a Parliamentary Reform could not be obtained, but at the point of the bayonet.

Q. And you collected, that it was their intention ſo to carry it?

A. Yes; from their general converſation.

Q. And you fix that converſation to the 2d of April, at this place?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that you ſaid about a bet?

A. The reaſon of my going there was to decide a bet; that was the way I firſt came to go there.

Q. And you loſt your bet?

A. I did.

Q. You made yourſelf a Member of the Correſponding Society?

A. I did.

Q. And took thoſe notes?

A. I did.

Q. Why did you take thoſe notes?

A. When I once diſcovered, that an armed ſociety of this ſort exiſted, which I thought of ſuch dangerous tendency, I immediately gave notice to the Secretary of State.

Q. How long after you had loſt your bet?

A. Between two and three days; but I mentioned it before that bet was decided, that, if I loſt my bet, I ſhould certainly acquaint the Secretary of State.

Q. Should you know the faces of any of thoſe perſons?

A. I ſhould, of two or three of them.

Q. Should you know more of them?

A. I do not think I ſhould; I know the perſon in the chair, Orr.

Q. Was Franklow there?

A. He was.

Q. Do you know any body elſe that was there?

A. I think Williams was there; but I did not expect to ſee ſuch a thing; I was very much flurried and confuſed.

Edward Goſling (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. Have you been for any time a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. I became a member on the 15th of April.

Q. What April do you ſpeak of?

A. April, 1794.

Q. Did you become a member, in conſequence of any communication between you and any Magiſtrate of the country?

A. I had not been directed to become a member, in conſequence of the recommendation of any Magiſtrate; I had been unexpectedly propoſed by Whittam, and a Magiſtrate had told me, if another perſon had propoſed me, I ſhould become a member.

Q. Had you communicated with any Magiſtrate of the country, before you communicated with the ſociety?

A. Not reſpecting the Correſponding Society.

Q. Who was the perſon that firſt introduced you to the ſociety?

A. John Hillier.

Q. Did you make application to him firſt, or he to you?

A. I firſt went to Hillier, to make ſome enquiries reſpecting a perſon, who was a member of that ſociety.

Q. What led you to go to Hillier to make that enquiry?

A. From ſeeing publications of that nature, and I was informed that the perſon reſpecting whom I was directed to make the enquiry was a member of the Correſponding Society.

Q. Publications of what nature?

A. From ſeeing publications in Hillier's ſhop window, which appeared to me, to be of a ſeditious nature.

Q. What buſineſs did Hillier carry on?

A. He ſold pamphlets.

Q. From that you thought it likely he was a member of the ſociety, likely to give you information, there being ſome man you wanted to enquire about?

A. Yes.

Q. When

Q. When did you firſt make your application to Hillier?

A. I believe towards the end of March, or the beginning of April.

Q. For what purpoſe did you become a member of the correſponding ſociety?

A. On the 14th of April when I firſt became a member, I was unexpectedly propoſed, on the day following I informed Mr. Wickham that I had done ſo.

Q. What paſſed between you and the Magiſtrate is not evidence, but in conſequence of what paſſed between you and him, why did you attend the meeting?

A. To diſcover whether they had any ſerious intentions of arming.

Q. You have ſtated that you communicated ſomething upon the ſubject, to Mr. Wickham?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it with his approbation that you attended the meeting for the purpoſe you have now ſtated?

A. It was.

Q. Did you from time to time communicate to Mr. Wickham, ſuch facts as came to your knowledge?

A. I did.

Q. And went there for the expreſs purpoſe of procuring information, and giving it?

A. I did.

Q. When was you firſt introduced?

A. On the 15th of April 1794.

Q. At what diviſion?

A. Diviſion No. 11.

Q. Meeting at what place?

A. Northampton-ſtreet Clerkenwell, I do not recollect the ſign rightly, but the man's name was Holt.

Q. Did Hillier introduce you?

A. Yes.

Q. What number of perſons were preſent at that meeting?

A. I cannot exactly tell, there might be about thirty.

Q. Did any thing material paſs at that meeting?

A. There was ſome converſation about the proceedings at Chalk Farm.

Q. Had the meeting then at Chalk Farm taken place?

A. This was the day after the meeting had been at Chalk Farm.

Q. What paſſed with reſpect to the meeting which had been had at Chalk Farm?

A. The converſation turned that night principally upon that, and ſome were talking that it was neceſſary to arm to protect the convention, in the ſame manner as they had in France; I heard ſome preſent talking in conſequence of a convention having been talked of at Chalk Farm that it would be neceſſary to arm to defend that convention the ſame as they had done to protect the Convention in France; I think it is proper to ſay that their minds appeared at that time to be very much heated from what had paſſed at Chalk Farm, and therefore from that circumſtance I did not think ſo much of their being ſerious.

Q. Do you mean that they were heated with liquor?

A. No, not with liquor.

Q. What was deſcribed to have paſſed at Chalk Farm that ſhould ſo have heated their ſpirits?

A. There were a number of reſolutions paſſed.

Q. Do you recollect any of thoſe reſolutions?

A. Yes, I remember one reſolution, I can remember ſome circſtances which occured at Chalk Farm.

Q. That were ſtated to have occurred there—you was not there?

A. I was at Chalk Farm.

Q. Then you were there before you became a member?

A. Yes.

Q. State any circumſtances that occurred at Chalk Farm, particularly ſuch as were mentioned in this meeting of the diviſion the night after?

A. There were a number of reſolutions read which I cannot repeat; but one of them concluded with the words, brought the head of Charles the Firſt to the block, and ſent James the Second from the throne; then a man, whoſe name I underſtood was Birks,

Birks, ſhouted, I remember a perſon, whoſe name I was told was Richter, mentioned that he had received a letter, from Sheffield I think, but am not poſitive to the place, that a great number of perſons had met there, and that they were determined to petition Parliament no more for a Reform; that a convention was intended to be called, and that, I think, he ſaid it was to take place in about ſix weeks, or a ſhorter time, I cannot recollect the poſitive words.

Q. Upon Birks's ſhouting was any obſervation made by any perſons preſent at Chalk Farm?

A. Some perſons ſaid that they thought holding up their hands was ſufficient; this man called out that he wiſhed to be heard at St. James's.

Q. Do you remember Mr. Thelwall being there?

A. There was a perſon there whoſe name I was told was Thelwall, whom I never ſaw before nor ſince.

Q. Did that perſon take any part in the converſation and debate that was going forward?

A. Yes, he ſpoke ſeveral times.

Q. Do you recollect any particular expreſſion that ſtruck you that he made uſe of?

A. Something that Mr. Dundas had threatened to bring the Scotch laws into England, and if they attempted it, they muſt repel force by force, or ſomething of that ſort.

Q. Do you recollect what particular ſubject reſpecting the Scotch laws was the ſubject of converſation?

A. I believe it related to ſome perſons that were tried.

Q. What was the expreſſion uſed?

A. That infamous and ever to be deteſted Court of Juſticiary in Scotland.

Q. Do you recollect the remainder of that ſentence?

A. I cannot ſay I have a poſitive recollection; I made no minutes at the time.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You have better evidence I ſuppoſe of the reſolutions, than of the converſation?

Mr. Garrow. Was there any direction as to the printing any number of copies of the proceedings of the day?

A. I think the number that was ordered to be printed was two hundred thouſand;----I cannot ſay, whether one or two hundred thouſand copies of the reſolutions, if they ſhould be wanted.

Q. Which was the next meeting of the diviſion that you was at afterwards?

A. On the Monday following I was at the meeting of another diviſion.

Q. Where was that?

A. At the houſe of one Morris, a Jack-maker, in Brick-lane.

Q. What diviſion was that?

A. I believe they call it ſixteen and twenty-five.

Q. Did any thing material paſs at that time?

A. I do not recollect any thing particular, any further than Doctor Hodſon was recommended by the committee to be relieved.

Q. Where was he at that time, and what was the purpoſe for which he was to be relieved?

A. There was no particular purpoſe ſtated, only he was recommended for relief.

Q. Did you go with Hillier next day to ſee Doctor Hodſon?

A. I did.

Q. Where did you go to?

A. To Newgate.

Q. Who was you introduced to there?

A. To Doctor Hodſon.

Q. Did Hillier go with you?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any other perſon there beſides Doctor Hodſon?

A. Yes, one Lloyd, Rouſſel a Frenchman, and a Captain Williams, an American.

Q. Hillier was likewiſe there?

A. Yes.

Q. Be ſo good as tell us what the nature of the converſation was there in the preſence of Hillier, he being one of the parties?

A. The principal converſation that I had was with Doctor Hodſon.

Q. Was

Q. Was it in the preſence of Hillier?

A. He was there, all thoſe perſons were preſent, the moſt material converſation that paſſed then was from Doctor Hodſon, he aſked me if I had ſeen a copy of the new conſtitution, I told him I was but a young member, and did not know any thing of it; he then informed me that there was a very clever one coming out; the ſociety was to be divided into diviſions, and into ſmall diviſions, that the purpoſe of that was for the convenience of learning the uſe of arms, at each other's houſes.

Q. What more paſſed at that time?

(The witneſs refers to a paper.)

Lord Chief Baron Macdonald. Did you make that memorandum at the time?

A. I did; he informed me that thoſe diviſions were to be called tithings; and that the purpoſe of them was likewiſe to keep ſpies from getting among them, and betraying their intention; he likewiſe ſtated, that their numbers were encreaſing, and that they would ſoon be too formidable to be reſiſted. I made an obſervation, that I did not think, from what I had ſeen in the ſociety, that they appeared to be men of property, to have money to effect any thing, upon which a Frenchman, who was there, got up and ſaid, when the ſociety was organized, money ſhould not be wanting.

Q. Was this Rouſſel that you have mentioned?

A. Yes.

Q. Did any thing more material paſs at that time?

A. There were ſome toaſts given, one of which was given by Lloyd; the toaſt was, the world a republic or a deſert: Doctor Hodſon ſaid, he hoped ſoon to ſee a revolutionary tribunal eſtabliſhed in this country, for he deſpiſed all others.

Q. He was then ſuffering under the ſentence of the law, I believe?

A. Yes.

Q. This was ſaid ſtill in the preſence of Hillier?

A. Yes.

Q. Was any thing more ſaid at that meeting that was material?

A. Rouſſel ſaid he was going from there to Thelwall's, and he ſhould ſet off the next day. Lloyd aſked him, for the continent, he anſwered, *oui*. Hillier aſked to France, he anſwered, yes.

Q. When Hillier invited you to go to Newgate to ſee thoſe perſons, who did he aſk you to go and ſee?

A. The perſecuted patriots.

Q. Is Mr. Lloyd confined upon any ſentence upon a criminal proſecution?

A. I do not know; Lloyd was part of the time writing; I heard he was a priſoner, but for what I do not know.

Q. When was the next meeting of the diviſion?

A. I think it was the ſame evening I was at the diviſion to which I belonged.

Q. Which was that?

A. The eleventh.

Q. Who were the perſons that were preſent there?

A. One Wright a delegate, and Gordon who was ſecretary, and about thirty-ſix other perſons, I believe.

Q. This meeting was, I believe, at the Hope, in Northampton-ſtreet, upon the 22d of April?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was the delegate at that meeting?

A. His name was Wright.

Q. Do you recollect any converſation of Wright's in the ſociety, upon the ſubject of arms?

A. After the ſociety had broke up we were coming away; Wright aſked me if I had got any arms, I told him no, he ſaid he had got his muſket, and that it was neceſſary that we ſhould all have arms as we might very ſoon be compelled to uſe them.

Q. Was that ſaid as well in the hearing of other members as yourſelf?

A. Yes; the Secretary ſtated, that he was very ſorry to leave the ſociety juſt as they were going to act as well as think, and to regenerate their country.

Q. Who was their Secretary?

A. His

A. His name was Gordon, he was going to America; he ſaid he ſhould take ſome copies of their ſpirited reſolutions to the popular ſocieties there.

Q. Did you hear any obſervations upon the ſubject of arming from Hillier, or any other member of the ſociety beſides Wright, the delegate?

A. Hillier ſaid, he had not got a muſket, but he had got a pike.

Q. Do you remember being preſent at any time at Hillier's in the ſame month of April, on the 25th of April?

A. On the 25th of April I was at Hillier's; there were preſent a perſon whoſe name I afterwards was told was Wickſly.

Q. Where is Hillier's houſe?

A. No. 80 or 81, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet; I was told his name afterwards was a Mr. Hickſly, and two other perſons, one of whom appeared much in liquor, the reſt were ſober, and there was a man of the name of Bennett, the ſecretary to the 16th and 5th diviſions.

Q. Was there a perſon there who was a mercer by buſineſs?

A. Yes, that was Bennett,

Q. Were there ſome other perſons preſent?

A. There were thoſe I have ſtated; Hillier was preſent; the converſation was begun by this perſon, whoſe name Hillier informed me was Wickſly; he ſaid he had received a letter from Sheffield, which informed him that they had a numerous meeting and had determined to petition no more for a Parliamentary Reform; he likewiſe ſaid, that this letter contained the drawing of ſome knives which were making there, of a particular conſtruction, for cutting of reins; the letter contained a drawing, with this obſervation—theſe are the inſtruments we ſhall ſoon uſe.

Q. What were they ſtated to be for?

A. To be fixed againſt the end of poles, and to be uſed againſt the military.

Q. What were the knives for?

A. For cutting the reins.

Q. Cutting the reins of what?

A. I do not recollect whether he particularly explained that.

Q. It

Q. It was ſtated that thoſe inſtruments were to act againſt the military?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you mean ſtated in terms, or that you collected that?

A. It was ſtated in terms; it was further ſaid, the principal dependance of the ſociety was in ſecuring the Royal Family, and both Houſes of Parliament.

One of the Jury. What date was this?

A. On the 25th of April; he further ſaid, if they could reſiſt the firſt ſhock, there would be no danger to be apprehended afterwards.

Q. If who could reſiſt the firſt ſhock?

A. I conſidered it to be the members of the different ſocieties; if they could reſiſt the firſt ſhock from the army, that there would be no fear afterwards.

Q. Did they give any reaſon why the firſt ſhock being reſiſted, there would be no fear afterwards?

A. They ſaid the Royal Family being ſecured, the army would have no head to look up to, and would be glad to accept the additional pay that would be offered them.

Q. Who was that additional pay to be offered by?

A. I underſtood by the ſocieties.

Q. Do you remember any obſervation that Hillier made upon that additional pay being offered to the army with reſpect to the compariſon of ſixpence a-day with any other ſum?

A. There was ſomething ſaid, I believe it was eighteen-pence; that the men would not fight for ſixpence a-day if they could have eighteen-pence—I think it was, but I am not poſitive to the ſum.

Q. Whether any of the perſons preſent at the time that theſe obſervations were made, and theſe facts ſtated, made any objection to them?

A. None; but I think it is proper to ſtate that one perſon was very much in liquor and took no part in that converſation.

Q. Thoſe who converſed were not in liquor?

A. No.

Q. Thoſe to whom the obſervations were addreſſed, except the one who took no part, were they ſober?

A. Perfectly

A. Perfectly ſober.

Q. Did any one make any obſervation that had a tendency to repreſs this converſation?

A. One of them, Bennett, went out with me into the ſtreet, and his converſation was ſo violent, and he ſpoke ſo loud, that I was obliged to check him, and told him the people in the ſtreet were hearing him.

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Baxter?

A. I do.

Q. Was he a member of the London Correſponding Society?

A. I have ſeen him at diviſions.

Q. At other times ſince that, have you heard any obſervation from Hillier or Baxter, upon the ſubject of arming?

A. On the 9th of May was the moſt material converſation I had with Baxter, that was at Hillier's houſe; he ſaid he had been with an officer who had been lately——

Q. Who were the perſons preſent beſides Baxter?

A. Baxter, this Bennet, Hillier, a man whoſe name I was told was Hill, and ſome other perſons, whoſe names I do not know, were preſent during a part of this converſation; Baxter ſtated, that he had been with Mr. Joyce, who was ſecretary to Earl Stanhope: Mr. Joyce told him there was no danger to be apprehended from Stone, that Stone had too much firmneſs to let them get any thing out of him by intimidation.

Q. Who were you ſpeaking of by the name of Stone?

A. A perſon I underſtood who was confined in Newgate.

Q. Did you underſtand he had been examined before his Majeſty's Privy Council.

A. I underſtood that he was committed upon a charge of High Treaſon; we had ſome converſation about Hamilton Rowan's eſcape; he ſaid, Earl Stanhope's ſpeech was to be printed, with an addition, which was to be very cautiouſly put in; he ſaid, the Committee of Correſpondence and Co-operation were preparing an addreſs to the army, with ſome ſtrong reſolutions; he ſaid, that prudent and determined men were wanted to propagate the opinions contained in thoſe reſolutions.

Q. Were they wanted to propagate them?

A. He

A. He ſtated, that one Moore had been particularly active and ſucceſsful in getting over the army.

Q. Did he tell you what deſcription of the army he had been more ſucceſsful with than the other?

A. He ſaid, they had moſt to fear from the young recruits; they had ſucceeded beſt with the old ſoldiers in Weſtminſter; he ſaid, if one third of the army was got over, the other two thirds would not act with ſpirit againſt them; he then aſked me if I knew any perſon who would buy a pike.

Q. Who are you ſpeaking of now?

A. Baxter.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Who was it ſaid all this?

A. Baxter.

Mr. Garrow. Did he mention any thing with reſpect to his interview with the officers?

A. Yes, he ſaid that the officers had made uſe of an expreſſion not fit to be repeated, and aſked him why he did not blow them all up together; he ſaid the officer had been lately preſented to the Queen upon his promotion.

Q. You think it an indecent expreſſion?

A. It is as applied to ſuch a perſon as him; he ſaid, that the officer had aſked Baxter why they did not blow up the whole family together; he then aſked me if I knew any friends who would purchaſe a pike; I ſaid I ſhould have no objection to purchaſe one, but that it would be of no uſe unleſs I knew how to uſe it; he ſaid, if I went either the Thurſday or the Friday following, and made uſe of his name at the ſign of the Parrot, in Green-Arbour-court, in the Old-Bailey; I was to aſk for one Edwards, that he would be called out to me, and I was then to tell him that Baxter had ſent me, and then I was to have a pike, and I ſhould be introduced to others, who would learn the uſe of them with me, and that Edwards was very clever at the uſe of it, and would aſſiſt us in learning; he ſtated, that pikes were much cheaper than muſkets, and that it would be impoſſible for the number to procure muſkets on account of the expence. There is another circumſtance, he ſtated, that perſons with muſkets might do a great deal of miſchief if they did not know properly the uſe of them: I made

an obſervation, that I thought we might have a Reform in Parliament without coming to blows; he ſaid, is there one man in the ſociety who believes a Parliamentary Reform is all we want—no, not one; he ſaid, that many men of property had hitherto kept back on account of the ſanguinary conduct of the French, but that they were now willing to come forward, as they were convinced that a revolution might be effected in a few hours; he ſaid, for his own part, he did not wiſh the King, or any of his family, to loſe their lives, but he thought they might go to Hanover; he ſaid, it muſt be expected that ſome blood muſt be ſhed; ſome particular perſons had offered ſuch inſults to the people, that human nature could not overlook; the converſation afterwards turned relative to Thelwall's having been indicted, in which there was nothing very material.

Q. Was Hillier preſent during the whole of this converſation of Baxter?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it pronounced in a way in which every perſon might hear?

A. They might; but I did not pay much attention to any thing that fell from him, from this circumſtance—that Baxter was one of the committee of Correſpondence and Co-operation, I thought I ſhould obtain moſt information from his converſation, therefore I attended more to him.

Q. Did he ſtate whether any, and what number of pikes were ready at that time, at any place?

A. He ſaid, that many thouſand were making at Sheffield, that the heads were only to come from there, but that they were to be ſtocked in town.

Q. Did he give any caution with reſpect to converſing in the diviſion-meeting, reſpecting the pikes, at that time?

A. He recommended that nothing of that ſhould be mentioned at any of the diviſion-meetings, till the new conſtitution ſhould be adopted.

Q. The new conſtitution of the ſociety?

A. Yes, of the ſociety.

Q. Did he give any reaſon for the neceſſity of that caution?

A. Yes,

A. Yes, he ſaid, becauſe there were ſpies in the ſociety.

Q. Was there any thing ſaid in the courſe of this converſation with reſpect to the French Emigrants?

A. It was ſtated by Baxter, that it would be adviſeable to let thoſe who were priſoners out, and, if the French Emigrants attempted to reſiſt, they ſhould ſhare the fate of ſpies at Paris.

Q. What priſoners?

A. The French priſoners of war.

Q. Did he name any of thoſe perſons who had offered ſuch inſults to the people that human nature could not overlook?

A. He named ſeveral, I cannot recollect all; Mr. Pitt was one, Mr. Dundas another, and Mr. Reeves.

Q. And other perſons?

A. Yes.

Q. In the courſe of that evening, did you return to your home in company with Baxter?

A. I went part of the way home with Baxter.

Q. Did he, in the courſe of your going home, enlarge upon any of the ſubjects you had been converſing about?

A. I underſtood that the purpoſe of their addreſs to the army, was to excite a jealouſy between our troops and the French Emigrants, which were forming into regiments; he ſtated the means that Moore had uſed to get over ſome of the army; that he had told them that by their oath they were to fight for their King and country, but when the King and country were at variance, they had a right to fight on which ſide they pleaſed.

Q. Did he ſtate to you any of the other arguments that Moore had uſed with the army?

A. He recommended that I ſhould mix with them, treat them with beer, and enlarge upon the ſeverity of their uſage and the ſmallneſs of their pay; but I muſt firſt ſound their principles, and if I found them Ariſtocrats, then I muſt not go on.

Q. In the courſe of the evening, when this converſation was had, was Hillier's pike produced?

A. I do not recollect that it was.

Q. Was it produced at any time when any of thoſe perſons were preſent with you?

A. It

A. It was produced after that, at another meeting, on the 16th of May.

Q. Where was that meeting at?

A. At Hillier's.

Q. This is not a diviſion meeting, but the meeting of ſome few members?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were the perſons preſent upon the 16th?

A. I beliere I am wrong in point of date; it was on the 17th of May.

Mr. Garrow. The Attorney-General ſuggeſts to me, whether it is poſſible that I ſhould go into any examination reſpecting facts which took place after the priſoner was in cuſtody?

Lord Chief Baron Macdonald. When was he taken up?

Mr. Garrow. On the 12th of May.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. No, I think it would not be proper.

Mr. Garrow. Then we do not wiſh to examine as to any facts which have happened ſubſequent; I have at preſent confined my examination to facts prior to his being taken into cuſtody. Do you recollect the circumſtance of Mr. Hardy's being apprehended?

A. I do.

Q. Had you any converſation with reſpect to admiſſion to the Houſe of Commons? If that was after Hardy was apprehended, I do not enquire into it.

A. It was after.

Q. Do you remember a paper being diſtributed with reſpect to the Ins and the Outs?

A. I do.

Q. Where was that diſtributed?

A. At the meeting at the Coach and Horſes, in Hatton-garden.

Q. Was that before Mr. Hardy was apprehended?

A. It was after the apprehenſion of Mr. Hardy.

Q. With reſpect to all theſe circumſtances that you collected from time to time, you communicated them to Mr. Wickham, the magiſtrate, and with his approbation attended theſe meetings?

A. I did.

Q. And

Q. And attended them for the expreſs purpoſe of giving this information?

A. I did.

Edward Goſling.

Croſs examined by *Mr. Erſkine.*

Q. What is your Chriſtian name?

A. Edward.

Q. Edward Goſling?

A. Yes.

Q. Are your father and mother living?

A. Yes.

Q. What are you by employment, or trade?

A. At preſent I am employed by Mr. Wickham.

Q. I am not calling you to an account for any general employment, if you are an honeſt man in the execution of it; do you mean employed in this buſineſs?

A. Yes, and in writing too; I was employed before this buſineſs by Mr. Colquhoun, in writing.

Q. What ſort of writing?

A. Both in his private buſineſs and on his public buſineſs.

Q. Mr. Colquhoun is an attorney, is he?

A. No, a Magiſtrate in Worſhip-ſtreet.

Q. When did you begin writing for him?

A. About September laſt, but that was only occaſionally.

Q. What way of life had you been in before that?

A. Before that I kept a broker's ſhop.

Q. Was you a dealer in naval ſtores; I am not aſking any queſtion you can object to, was you a dealer in naval ſtores?

A. I never in my life, upon my oath, to my knowledge, bought a ſtore that ever was the property of his Majeſty, if that is what you mean?

Mr. Erſkine. I ſhould have no right to aſk that queſtion.

A. I know the reaſon for which it was put; and it is a queſtion which, if I was not conſcious of my innocence, I had no right to anſwer, but as I knew I could ſafely do it, I thought it proper to anſwer.

Q. Then, perhaps, you have never ſaid to any body the direct contrary of what you are ſaying now to me?

A. I did ſay the direct contrary; I was aſked by Mr. Worſhip, when I went to buy a print, what I was? and what my addreſs was? as I conceived he would not let me have the print if I told him I was with a Magiſtrate, I told him I dealt in naval ſtores.

Q. Did you never ſay to any body that you dealt in naval ſtores; and that you ſhould think no more of cheating the King than of guillotineing him?

A. Never to my knowledge, I will ſwear poſitively, I never mentioned the word guillotineing the King.

Q. Did you never ſay to any body, upon your oath, that you lived by ſmuggling, and cheating the King in his ſtores?

A. Never upon my oath.

Q. Have you always gone by the name of Goſling?

A. I have not; and as means were yeſterday uſed to deter me from giving evidence, I am willing to explain them, and am willing to explain why I went by another name; as I find every advantage is wiſhed to be taken of me, I truſt the mercy of the Court will not ſuffer any improper queſtion to be put to me?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. As to any queſtion which tends to accuſe you of any crime, not immediately connected with this matter, I will protect you, but at the ſame time keep your temper, attend to the queſtion, and give it a direct anſwer.

Mr. Erſkine. I have treated you with civility I am ſure.—Did you ever go by the name of Douglas?

A. I did.

Q. When did you firſt aſſume the name of Douglas?

A. I believe, as much as ten years ſince.

Q. How long did you continue the name of Douglas?

Goſling. I would wiſh to relate the circumſtances under which I took that name.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You had better anſwer the queſtion.

A. I carried on the buſineſs of a hair-dreſſer in that name, for I believe pretty near ſeven years.

Q. Where did you reſide?

A. In Weſtminſter.

Q. Where in Weſtminſter?

A. In Petty France, No. 3.

Q. When did you firſt come to live in Petty France, No. 3, as a hair-dreſſer, by the name of Douglas?

A. It is about ten years ſince, I do not know that I could ſtate exactly the time, I believe, it muſt be about the year 1784.

Q. I am not very particular as to dates, I do not want to be in any of your ſecrets, if there can be any reaſon in the world for your not chuſing to anſwer me.—Had you any particular reaſon for changing your name?

A. I will ſtate my reaſon, my father had a ſhop of buſineſs in the city, his buſineſs was chiefly in the wig and ſhaving way, for improvement I wiſhed to go to the weſt end of the town. I went and worked with a man, whoſe name was Penton, in Bloomſbury, for improvement; it was, perhaps, from falſe pride I did not chuſe it to be known that I was working as a journeyman, when my father kept four or five men; and as for taking the name of Douglas I took it from a play-bill.

Q. I have no objection to a decent pride, you took a very good name.—It ſtruck you in a moment to take the name of Douglas from a play-bill.

A. That was the reaſon that ſtruck me at that time, and I had no thought of continuing under that name.

Q. Pray how long did you play this part of Douglas.

A. I continued near ſeven years in that name, and it was from this circumſtance.—

Q. Do you know a Mr. Lincoln?

A. I do, I did not recollect him, but I wiſh to ſtate ſome circumſtance.

Q. Pleaſe to anſwer my queſtion firſt, you know Mr. Lincoln?

A. I do.

Q. Who is Mr. Lincoln?

A. Mr. Lincoln I underſtand to be ſomething to Mr. Macnamara, he collects rents for him, I believe.

Q. Did you at any time, I am not aſking you any thing that is criminal, did you at any time borrow any money of him?

A. I

A. I did, and will ſtate the circumſtances if you pleaſe.

Q. How long ago is it that you borrowed any money, and what ſum of him?

A. I am upon my oath, I do not know the particular ſum, nor cannot ſtate the particular time, I believe it is four or five years ago.

Q. Was it ten guineas?

A. Ten pound, or guineas, I do not know which?

Q. Did you give him a note for it.

A. Yes, in the name of George Douglas, part of which I paid, part my wife paid, and the remainder he has been ſince paid.

Q. When did you pay part of it yourſelf?

A. I cannot ſtate the time.

Q. Did not Mr. Lincoln come into the London Coffee-houſe by mere accident, where the witneſſes for the Crown are, I believe, provided with what is fit for them to have, and ſaw you there, and ſaid how do you do Douglas?

A. Permit me to explain, that that was not the way; that would carry a different conſtruction from the manner in which it was done. Mr. Macnamara firſt came himſelf, whom I never had ſeen; he aſked me queſtions; I told him a ſtaircaſe there with a man I had never ſeen, was not a place to enter into an explanation upon the ſubject.

Q. I am not ſpeaking about Mr. Macnamara, but aſking what paſſed when Mr. Lincoln came into the London Coffee-houſe?

A. I was from Mr. Macnamara's conduct to me ſo confuſed that I hardly knew what I ſaid.

Q. Mr. Macnamara had been there before, and had behaved in ſuch a manner that you was ſo flurried that you did not know what you ſaid to Mr. Lincoln when he came in?

A. I declare, I did not recollect Mr. Lincoln's perſon, having never ſeen him but once or twice in my life.

Q. But you recollect what you ſaid to me, not two minutes ago; that Mr. Macnamara had been there before, and had behaved in ſuch a manner, that when Mr. Lincoln came you were

ſo confuſed, from Mr. Macnamara's conduct, that you hardly knew what you ſaid?

A. I certainly did ſay ſo.

Q. He ſaid to you, how do you do Douglas?

A. He did not. When he came up he aſked me firſt what my name was? I ſaid Edward Goſling; ſaid he, did you never go by any other name? did not you rent a houſe of me? my name is Macnamara; I ſaid this is not a place proper for explanation; he ſaid I came out of humanity to you,—you know you gave a note to Mr. Lincoln, ſome part of which is not paid, and I only came out of humanity to you to inform you, that when you appear in evidence this will be brought forward.

Q. What would be brought forward?

A. This note would be produced. I told him I had not the money. I offered Mr. Lincoln the money afterwards.

Q. Did you know where Mr. Lincoln lived in the interval, between the time when you borrowed the money from him and to the time you ſaw Mr. Macnamara and Mr. Lincoln, at the London Coffee-houſe.

A. I knew where he lived at the time I borrowed it; I do not know whether Mr. Lincoln had moved or not.

Q. Had you ſeen him in the interval?

A. I paid a part of the money, and my wife paid another part of it. It was to be paid by inſtallments.

Q. Let me aſk an explanation of ſomething, which I confeſs I did not underſtand; how came you to ſay, to Mr. Worſhip, that you dealt in naval ſtores?

A. Becauſe I thought, that would preclude all enquiry; becauſe I did not chuſe to give him my addreſs; becauſe I thought if he found I was with Mr. Wickham, he would refuſe then to let me have what I wanted.

Mr. Attorney-General. Do you mean Worſhip the engraver?

A. Yes; I ſaw he ſuſpected I was not friendly to their cauſe.

Mr. Erſkine. Who is Mr. Worſhip?

A. A Secretary of a diviſion of the Correſponding Society.

Q. Did you never make uſe of the expreſſions that I aſked you

to

to before, that you cared no more for cheating the King than the expreſſion I ſtated before?

A. Never in my my life.

Q. I aſk you, upon your oath, whether many of theſe expreſſions, which you have been ſtating to night, you did not make uſe of yourſelf, and endeavour to excite thoſe people to do the things that you have been relating of them, and was reprimanded by them repeatedly for it?

A. Never.

Q. Upon no one occaſion?

A. The only thing I ever did, I will ſtate: that, on the Tueſday, after the apprehenſion of Hardy, I mentioned what had paſſed at the diviſion, in Compton-ſtreet, relative to the Committee of Emergency, and to know whether it was their intention to do the ſame.

Q. I aſk you, upon your oath, whether you were not in the conſtant courſe of uſing inflammatory expreſſions, which I won't repeat, going from one ſociety to another uſing inflammatory expreſſions, to excite thoſe people to ſay to you things which you wanted them to ſay?

A. I never wiſhed, and do not to my knowledge know, that I ever uſed any one expreſſion of the kind; in ſome reſpects I may have appeared to have approved of their proceedings with the view which was my ſole deſign. I did not wiſh to lead Baxter on, nor did I find fault with him, from this circumſtance, that as I had reaſon to believe, that arms were ſecreted, and it was my wiſh to diſcover where they were, that they might be found, and the miſchief prevented.

Q. It was natural you ſhould ſay nothing if you went with a view of diſcovering that which was dangerous to the public.—But I aſk you, whether you did not go about from place to place uſing the moſt inflammatory expreſſions.

A. I never did.

Q. You ſay that poſitively?

A. Yes.

Q. That you never did uſe inflammatory expreſſions of the ſort, that you have been mentioning?

A. No.

Q. Do I underſtand you to ſwear poſitively then, that you never made uſe of any inflammatory expreſſions, when I put you in mind of ſome of them now.—Why do not the ſociety learn the uſe of arms, it would be of great uſe, there is nothing to be done without arms?

A. I never made uſe of ſuch an expreſſion ever.

Q. Nor never made uſe of any expreſſion of that nature, to excite any of the people at the ſocieties to believe you would do miſchief of any ſort.

A. No, never to my knowledge, I never uſed any inflammatory expreſſion, or any means to excite them to diſturbance, or any means whatever.

Q. Now go to your notes and tell me what days, and at what places you attended in the proſecution of that which was extremely laudable, if it was honeſt, the times and the places.—But before I trouble you with that, do you know a Mrs. Coleman?

A. I do not.

Mr. Erſkine. Look acroſs to the Jury.

A. I do not know a Mrs. Coleman now.

Q. Did you ever know a Mrs. Coleman?

A. I did.

Q. Had you any dealings of any ſort with her?

A. Certainly, ſhe rented a ſhop of me.

Q. Had you no dealings of any other ſort? I am not putting a queſtion of any immoral nature.

A. Certainly I had buſineſs, ſhe rented a ſhop of me.

Q. Is that all?

A. She died at my houſe, and I buried her.

Q. Did ſhe leave any will?

A. Yes.

Q. Who did ſhe leave her property to?

A. Her property was partly left to one Burroughs, and partly to one James Leech.

Q. Who made the will?

A. I wrote it.

Q. Do you know Mrs. Biffin?

A. I

A. I do not.

Q. You was very ill uſed about that buſineſs, in which you had done nothing but that which was right?

Goſling. How ill uſed?

Mr. Erſkine. I mean you got into ſome diſpute and trouble about it.

A. None at all, I was in no trouble about it.

Q. There was no complaint made againſt you of any ſort?

A. There was no juſt cauſe of complaint.

Q. I do not aſk whether there was any juſt cauſe of complaint, but was there any complaint made againſt you by any body upon the ſubject?

A. I cannot ſay I recollect the particular circumſtances that might paſs, there was a brother by a former huſband who came up out of the country.

Q. Do not underſtand me to be doing ſo improper a thing as to be imputing any crime to you, and to aſk you to reveal it, far from it, I only aſk whether any body was wicked enough to make any complaint of your conduct in that caſe?

A. I do not know that there was any complaint.

Q. Will you ſwear there was none—upon your oath, was there no complaint made againſt you upon the ſubject of this will?

A. I cannot tell what complaints may have been made.

Q. Upon your oath, was there not a complaint made againſt you, to your knowledge, for fabricating this will?

A. Never, that I know of.

Q. Will you ſwear that?

A. I will ſwear I never heard any ſuch thing.

Q. Who was Mr. Leech?

A. A man who was formerly an apprentice, and kept a ſhop nearly oppoſite, who ſet up in oppoſition to me.

Q. In what trade?

A. In the ſame buſineſs of a hair-dreſſer.

Q. And that woman died at your houſe and left her property to him?

A. I did not ſay ſhe left her property to him.

Q. I aſked you to whom ſhe left her property?

A. I told you to be divided equally between a perſon of the name of Burroughs, at Edmonton, and a James Leech.

Q. Was that James Leech your rival oppoſite?

A. No.

Q. Who was that James Leech to whom this woman left this money?

A. A ſon of my wife's.

Q. Who was Burroughs, who was that other perſon?

A. A couſin of her's, or ſome ſuch thing.

Q. What connection had you with the woman?

A. I had no connection, any further than rendering her every ſervice in my power, during a long illneſs, in which I was at conſiderable expence.

Q. How long had ſhe lodged at your houſe?

A. I cannot tell exactly.

Q. A year?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Will you ſwear that ſhe lived ſix months with you?

A. I do not know the time.

Q. Was it two months?

A. It was longer than that.

Q. Three months?

A. Longer than that.

Q. Four months?

A. I cannot ſtate to a month.

Q. Was the will made by an attorney?

A. It was not.

Q. By yourſelf?

A. Yes.

Q. Am I to take you that you mean to ſwear now, that no complaint was made againſt you as having forged that will?

A. I ſwear, that to the beſt of my knowledge or recollection, I never heard ſuch a thing.

Q. Will you ſwear, poſitively, you never have been charged with it; a man that is charged with a capital felony cannot forget it?

A. I do

A. I do not recollect that ever I was.

Q. Good God! Do you mean to ſwear that you do not remember, whether you was charged with a capital felony or not?

A. I do not know that I ever was.

Q. Will you ſwear, poſitively, that no ſuch charge was brought againſt you?

A. I can ſwear no further than, that to the beſt of my knowledge, it never was.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. A charge brought when and where, it may be a fact within his knowledge, or it may not.

Mr. Erſkine. I am aſking you whether there was not a complaint made, that you was charged in your own preſence with having done it?

A. Never, to my knowledge.

Q. Am I to underſtand that there was not a complaint made in your preſence againſt you for having forged that will?

A. I do not recollect that any perſon ever did.

Q. Wont you go the length of ſwearing that nobody ever did do ſo?

A. I can only ſpeak to the beſt of my recollection and knowledge.

Mr. Garrow. I ſubmit to your lordſhip that is the only anſwer a witneſs can make to ſuch a queſtion?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. There is no occaſion for your interrupting the examination, probably, it is an anſwer, but he may be preſſed to ſee whether he can anſwer farther or not.

Mr. Erſkine. Whether any body ever charged you with it in your preſence?

A. I never recollect that any perſon ever did.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Cox?

A. Yes; I know Mr. Cox, a cheſemonger.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. I cannot exactly ſtate how long I have dealt with him.

Q. Dealt with him in what?

A. In cheeſemongery and butter, and things of that kind, and ſome hams.

Q. For

Q. For the uſe of your family?

A. Yes; and to ſell.

Q. I thought you were a hair-dreſſer; what, do you deal in hams?

A. My wife kept a ſhop of that ſort, and I dreſſed hair.

Q. Have you never had any other ſort of dealings with Mr. Cox, than that which any man has with a fair tradeſman that bought hams of him in the ordinary courſe of buſineſs?

A. No.

Q. And you ſwear that, poſitively?

A. I do not remember any thing elſe, if you name any particular charge, if it comes within my knowledge I will own it.

Mr. Erſkine. I do not ſtand here to make charges.

Goſling. I purchaſed hams of him, and in ſome there were great holes filled up with mortar and ſtones.

Q. Then the hams were of a bad quality, filled up with mortar and ſtones?

A. Some of them were.

Q. Then Mr. Cox, the cheeſemonger, ſeems to have cheated you?

A. Certainly; he did not uſe me well when I was ignorant in the buſineſs.

Q. Mr. Macnamara came in order to intimidate you from being a witneſs here?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Conſider whether it will be prudent to go into an examination upon that, if Mr. Macnamara has been ſo imprudent as to go into a Coffee-houſe, and talk to the witneſs, it would be at beſt an incautious thing for a gentleman to go where the Crown witneſſes are, to enter into converſation with them; and, I think, it had better not be done, I hope no other gentlman will do it.

Mr. Erſkine. I am ſure he did not.

Mr. Garrow. I ſhall examine to it?

Mr. Erſkine. You will examine to it when I have done, I ſuppoſe?

Am I to underſtand you to ſay, that you never dealt at all in ſtores, I do not mean to ſay diſhoneſtly or improperly?

Goſling.

Goſling. What kind of ſtores?

Mr. Erſkine. Naval ſtores—ſhip ſtores.

A. I have purchaſed old cordage, bad ſacking, and ſuch kind of things; but thoſe I do not conſider to come under the denomination of naval ſtores.

Q. What were the articles that you purchaſed?

A. What is commonly called hand-ſtuffing, uſed for making of paper.

Q. Did you never ſay, I do not aſk you whether you did it, becauſe I have no right to do that, but you never ſaid that you was a dealer in raw materials; that the perſon you ſpoke to, aſked you to explain it; and whether in anſwer to that you ſaid that you attended the ſale of his Majeſty's ſtores at the Dock-yards, at Sheerneſs, and ſo on—that you were well acquainted with the Store-keepers, and that you generally bought them at a fifth of their value, by feeing the Store-keepers to condemn them?

A. I never ſaid that—I will relate to you one circumſtance upon which that is taken:—I wiſhed to get information reſpecting them, and Mr. Colquhoun would give me credit for that, it was upon that very buſineſs I was taken into his employment to give intelligence reſpecting that—I underſtood from Hillier that he had a relation who was a Quarter-maſter there, and I wiſhed, through his means, to obtain information for the ſervice of government.

Q. Why you had a great deal upon your hands—you ſay you told him the ſame as Mr. Worſhip; you did not tell Mr. Worſhip that?

A. I told him I was a dealer in naval ſtores.

Q. But did you tell Mr. Worſhip that the way you dealt was by feeing the Store-keepers to condemn them?

A. No, I did not tell him that.

Q. When you was reproved for that, did you not juſtify your conduct, and ſay that you had followed the practice for years, and thought it no crime to cheat the King.

A. Never.

Q. Was it in the ſervice of Mr. Colquhoun, that you bought that paper ſtuff and things?

A. I never

A. I never bought any paper ſtuff belonging to his Majeſty in my life, upon my oath.

Q. But I aſk you, was you both a dealer in ſtores yourſelf honeſtly; and was you employed as an informer to prevent other people being diſhoneſt?

A. I never had, to my knowledge, any charge brought againſt me for diſhoneſty for it—I obtained every information I could to prevent children and other perſons, that might be tempted to purloin things—the information was not given againſt any perſon, but merely hints to prevent pilfering—no perſon was accuſed upon that informatio.i, nor did I receive any reward for it.

Q. I do not comprehend you, explain to me what was the reaſon why you told Hillier you had been in the conſtant courſe of cheating government in that faſhion?

A. I did not tell Hillier I had been in a conſtant courſe of cheating the King; he mentioned to me his having a relation a Quarter-maſter at the yards, and to whom he talked of ſending ſome of the reſolutions; I thought that from him, as it is the Quarter-maſter that puts up the ſtores, that I might obtain ſome information relative to thoſe ſtores.

Q. Is that an anſwer to my queſtion; I aſked you why you told Mr. Hillier you were in the courſe of doing that which you have been now ſtating?

A. I did not tell him I had been in the courſe of cheating the King at all.

Q. Nor any thing to that effect?

A. I only told him that I was a dealer in naval ſtores, nothing further.

Q. Did you ever tell him that there were great quantities of copper conveyed out of the docks, and the manner in which it is conveyed out?

A. Never, the manner in which it is conveyed out.

Q. Whether you did not tell him the copper was conveyed out of the Dock-yards in butter firkins?

A. No; I have given information to Mr. Colquhoun that copper has been ſent away, but that was not from the King's ſtores; but ſuppoſed to be copper fraudulently conveyed away.

Q. I am aſking you, whether you did not tell him you had been employed yourſelf in conveying away this copper?

A. I never told him that I was employed, I wiſhed to gain what information I could from him, and that was the ſole purpoſe.

Q. Did you ever tell him that you was acquainted with a woman who lived ſomewhere about Tooley-ſtreet, and that there were twelve hundred weight found upon her premiſes?

A. I told him I had heard ſuch a ſeizure had been made, but I never ſaw the woman in my life; I had heard of it, and merely related that I had heard that ſuch a thing was the fact.

Q. Now I have nothing more to aſk of you except the dates, which you will be ſo good as to give me with great correctneſs; what was the firſt time that you attended any of thoſe ſocieties?

A. The 15th of April; upon the 14th, I was at a meeting at Chalk Farm; I became a member on the 15th.

Q. You never ſaw the priſoner at any of thoſe meetings?

A. I ſhould not know his perſon again; I do not know that I did?

Q. What part of the meeting was you in at Chalk Farm—was you in the room?

A. No, out in the grounds in the crowd.

Q. On what day was you at any diviſion meeting of the ſociety?

A. On the 15th of April.

Q. At what place?

A. At the Hope, in Northampton-ſtreet.

Q. What was the next time?

A. The Monday following, I believe.

Q. I wiſh you to be correct?

A. I do not know that, I have not every paper with me.

Q. But ſuch papers as you have, that will furniſh me with dates, let me have them?

A. On Monday following, I was at Morris's, in Brick-lane.

Q. What number of perſons were there at that time?

A. About twenty-five or twenty-ſix, I ſuppoſe.

Q. You did not know their perſons?

A. I knew

A. I knew the perſons of ſome of them.

Q. Be ſo good as to name them?

A. Bennet and Hillier, there were other perſons, Captain Williams, I believe, was there, an American.

Q. And about twenty-four or twenty-five perſons; now what was the next night?

A. On the Tueſday following, I was at the Hope.

Q. Were Hillier and Bennett there?

A. Hillier was there.

Q. How many perſons might be preſent there?

A. About ſeven or eight and twenty.

Q. I underſtand you to ſay the converſations, you have been relating, were not accidental ones, but that it was the general ſcope of the converſation almoſt every night?

A. That night at Morris's I did not hear any thing about arming.

Q. When did you hear about arming?

A. The 22d was the night when the delegate Wright made that obſervation, and the anſwer was given by Gordon, the ſecretary.

Q. What was the next night upon which you heard any of thoſe abominable expreſſions which you have ſworn to here?

A. On the 29th of April, there was a converſation about arming.

Q. On what night, and at what place was that horrible expreſſion made uſe of concerning the King?

A. That was not at a diviſion, that was at Hillier's houſe.

Q. What was the date of that?

A. That was the 25th of April.

Q. Who were preſent?

A. A man whoſe name I was told was Hickſley, (who introduced the ſubject by ſaying, he had received a letter from Sheffield,) Hillier, Bennett, another perſon, whoſe name I do not know, and another man who appeared to be in liquor.

Q. Are you prepared to ſwear poſitively, that you heard thoſe expreſſions which you have ſworn to?

A. I have already ſworn them, and they are true.

Q. And

Q. And you ſtick to that?

A. I do.

Q. Where was you upon the 29th?

A. At the Hope.

Q. Who were preſent at the Hope?

A. There were two diviſions met there that night, No. 11, and No. 6.

Q. What number were there of each?

A. I ſuppoſe about forty or fifty perſons together.

Q. Were there any expreſſions about arming that night?

A. There was a print propoſed by Worſhip the engraver, and recommended to the uſe of the ſociety.

Q. Was there any thing about arming for the purpoſe of threatening the King, or overturning the Government?

A. No expreſſion of overturning the Government; but it was recommended to them to learn the uſe of arms.

Q. But was any particular purpoſe ſtated?

A. I do not recollect, that there was any particular purpoſe ſtated.

Q. At what time, beſides the two you have ſpoken of, did you hear the expreſſions that you have related?

A. I have, at different times, of which I have not the dates, heard other people ſpeaking of it, and approving of it.

Q. Do you mean members of the ſociety?

A. Yes.

Q. What member?

A. Birks, the ſame I ſaw at Chalk Farm.

Q. What is his Chriſtian name?

A. I do not know.

Q. What did Birks ſay to you?

A. I do not recollect the particular converſation, becauſe I did not minute the words, therefore I will not attempt to ſwear to the converſation; I likewiſe heard a man of the name of Kelly, and likewiſe I heard Eaton talk of arming.

Q. It was an armed aſſociation of ſixty people; but armed for thoſe wicked purpoſes you have been talking of?

A. I heard Kelly ſay ſo, after the apprehenſion of Hardy.

Edward Goſling,

Re-examined by *Mr. Garrow.*

Q. You ſaid Worſhip produced an engraving at one of the meetings; caſt your eye upon that paper; is that one of the engravings he produced? *(ſhewing the witneſs a copper-plate print of the manual exerciſe.)*

A. I believe this to be one of them; this was brought as a proof; it was to be publiſhed the next day; he brought it to the ſociety, that they might ſee it.

Q. What have the ſoldiers got upon their heads?

A. He mentioned, that they were Sans Cullottes; and the caps on their heads were to be coloured red.

Q. This is an engraving of the manual exerciſe, and of platoon firing?

A. Yes.

Q. When you applied to him, leſt he ſhould ſuſpect you were connected with a Magiſtrate, you told him you was a Dealer in Naval Stores?

A. I did.

Q. And afterwards, in the reſt of the converſation, you kept up that repreſentation?

A. I did.

Q. How long is it ago ſince you gave a note to Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Macnamara's Agent?

A. I cannot exactly ſtate the time; about four or five years.

Q. Did you give it to Mr. Macnamara, or to Mr. Lincoln?

A. To Mr. Lincoln.

Q. How much was the amount?

A. Ten pounds, or ten guineas.

Q. How much, at this moment, is due upon that note?

A. I believe three guineas.

Q. Have you ever had any application from Mr. Macnamara, for the money, till after attending this Court, in virtue of his Majeſty's writ of ſubpœna, and among the witneſſes for the Crown?

A. I never

A. I never ſaw Mr. Macnamara in my life before yeſterday, not to know him.

Q. I need hardly aſk you, whether you had had any perſonal application from Mr. Macnamara, to pay this money?

A. Never.

Q. Had you had any application, upon his part, till you were ſubpœned as a witneſs?

A. I did not ſee him myſelf; I heard Mr. Lincoln had called upon me.

Q. How long ago?

A. Three or four years ago.

Q. Did Mr. Macnamara come to you alone?

A. I was ſitting at dinner; a perſon came, and ſaid, ſome perſon came to ſpeak to me; I found Mr. Macnamara alone.

Q. He ſaid he came out of humanity to you?

A. He ſaid, that he was a man of property, and had a large eſtate in the country; that he was a friend to the King and Conſtitution; that he would ſee ſtrict juſtice done; and he came out of humanity to me to let me know, that this would be produced againſt me in Court.

Q. If what?

A. He did not ſay what.

Q. Did Mr. Macnamara demand the money, or deſire you to pay it?

A. He aſked me, if I remembered the circumſtance; I ſaid it was an improper place to enter into an explanation; I did not know Mr. Macnamara's perſon; I told him, if he did, I muſt meet it in Court.

Q. You have been aſked a vaſt number of queſtions, reſpecting Mrs. Coleman's will; was there any ſuit inſtituted to diſpute the legality of that will?

A. None.

Q. Was there any proſecution for that which is called the forgery of it?

A. None.

Q. Was there ever, to your knowledge, any complaint made againſt you, that there was any thing foul in the tranſaction?

A. Not that I know of; the brother came to town, and appeared perfectly ſatisfied?

Q. Was it, upon your oath, a fair, honeſt tranſaction, as far as you had any thing to do with it; aye or no?

A. It was.

It now being Half paſt One o'Clock, on Friday Morning, the Court adjourned to Nine o'Clock.

SESSION HOUSE IN THE OLD BAILEY,

Friday, October the 31ſt, 1794.

PRESENT,

Lord Chief Juſtice EYRE;
Lord Chief Baron MACDONALD;
Mr. Baron HOTHAM;
Mr. Juſtice BULLER;
Mr. Juſtice GROSE;
And others his Majeſty's Juſtices, &c.

Thomas Hardy ſet to the bar.

Mr. Attorney General. Your Lordſhip will recollect, that Mr. Goſling, laſt night, ſpoke of a converſation, in Newgate, at which perſons of the names of Rouſſel and Hillier were preſent. We are now going to prove, that Rouſſel was a Member of the London Correſponding Society, with a view to produce ſome papers found upon him.

Mr. John Gurnell called.

Q. Did you find that paper?

A. Yes; I found it at Mr. Hardy's houſe.

[*It was read.*]

" *12th July*, 1792.

" Diviſion 37, Number 47, Mr. Rouſſel, No. 4, Shepherd-
" ſtreet, New Bond-ſtreet."

Mr. Bernard Bailey (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Attorney General.*

Q. Look at that book, (*ſhewing the witneſs a pamphlet, entitled*, " *Explanation of an Engraving of the Manual Exerciſe, and Platoon Firing*;") has that your hand-writing upon it?

A. It has.

 Q. Where

Q. Where did you find that?

A. I found it in Mr. Rouſſel's apartment.

Q. Look at that ſong? *(ſhewing it to the witneſs.)*

A. This has my hand-writing on it; I found this in Mr. Rouſſel's apartment.

Q. Where was Rouſſel's apartment?

A. In George-ſtreet, Black-friars; Rouſſel was preſent at the time.

Mr. Bernard Bailey,

Croſs-examined by *Mr. Gibbs.*

Q. Who was with you, when you found theſe papers?

A. John Coomber, an officer.

Q. Who deſired you to go?

A. Mr. Wickham, a Magiſtrate.

Q. When did you find them?

A. On the 19th of May.

Mr. Gibbs. I ſubmit to your Lordſhip, that, according to the rule laid down yeſterday, the ſong is not evidence, being found after Mr. Hardy was taken up.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I wiſh it had been obſerved before.

Mr. Gibbs. I wiſh it had; but I did not know it till I came to the croſs-examination of the witneſs.

[*The Court ordered the Song to be ſtruck out of the evidence.*]

Mr. Attorney General. I ſubmit to your Lordſhip, that the book muſt be evidence; becauſe the book, your Lordſhip ſees, is an explanation of the engraved plate, which has been produced, and which was found before the priſoner was in cuſtody.

Mr. Gibbs. How do I know, that this was not printed after the apprehenſion of Mr. Hardy?

Lord

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. The other was found before;—the material objection is, that this may have been printed afterwards;—it was found afterwards, and there is no evidence of its exiſtence before; therefore it muſt be rejected, unleſs you are prepared to ſhew, that the printing exiſted before.

Mr. Attorney General. The papers I am now going to produce were found, one in the cuſtody of Mr. Martin, the other of Mr. Thelwall; they were found in their cuſtody certainly after the priſoner was apprehended, but they bear date in April, 1794; and they appear, upon the face of them, to have been prepared for the Chalk Farm Meeting.

Mr. Gibbs. I only wiſh to have your Lordſhips opinion; I do not mean to take up the time of the Court; it ſeems to me, that there is certainly the ſame objection to this paper, as to thoſe which were offered before, of whatever date they may be, unleſs they can prove, either that they were in the poſſeſſion of the priſoner, or of ſome Member of the London Correſponding Society, before he was apprehended, or that he put that date to them; the circumſtance and bearing of the date certainly is not evidence.

Mr. Attorney General. Suppoſing the objection to be well founded, which I do not admit, I believe I can prove, that the paper had an actual exiſtence in the month of April, 1794.

Mr. Gibbs. Prove they exiſted in the poſſeſſion of ſome Member of the London Correſponding Society.

Mr. Attorney General. I will prove, that they exiſted in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Martin.

Mr. John Groves (ſworn.)

Examined by *Mr. Law.*

Q. Were you preſent at the Globe Tavern, in the Strand, on the 20th of January, 1794?

A. I was.

Q. At a General Meeting of the London Correſponding Society?

A. It was.

Q. Was you a member of that ſociety?

A. No, not at that time.

Q. When did you become a member of that ſociety?

A. Very early in the month of February.

Q. Did you make any obſervations of the proceedings which took place on the 20th of January, 1794?

A. Yes.

Q. What was your inducement to become a member of that ſociety?

A. I was deſired ſo to do.

Q. You became a member for the purpoſe of diſcovering their proceedings?

A. I was deſired by a particular gentleman to go there for that purpoſe, whoſe name I will mention, if you chuſe it.

Q. There is no occaſion for mentioning the name, relate as well as you can what paſſed on the 20th of January, 1794, at the Globe Tavern?

A. There was a very great aſſembly of people there, and I believe Mr. Martin was called to the chair, who read an addreſs, and I believe a Mr. Ritcher afterwards read it over again.

Q. Do you recollect any particular toaſt that was drank upon that occaſion?

A. I do not recollect any particular toaſt now, but a great number were read, and by the paper that was printed I ſhould be able to refreſh my memory.

Q. You have no paper that you had at the time?

A. I have none.

Q. Do you recollect any converſation held by any of the members of that ſociety at that meeting—what was the language?

A. In general the language was univerſal ſuffrage and annual parliaments; they were met for that purpoſe.

Q. Was it mentioned in that ſociety by what means thoſe objects were to be obtained?

A. Not that day; I heard nothing that day about the means.

Q. Did you hear at any ſubſequent meeting any converſation with

with any member of the Correſponding Society by what means that object was to be obtained?

A. I always underſtood that they were to be obtained——

Mr. Gibbs. We don't mind what you always underſtood, relate what any body ſaid.

Mr. Law. What was publickly profeſſed in any of the meetings of that ſociety to be the object and the means?

A. By enlightening the minds of the lower orders of the people, to give them opportunities of inſtruction, that they might know what the natural freedom of all mankind was.

Q. Did they ſay how they were to carry into effect that purpoſe?

A. By the diſtribution of certain papers calculated for their underſtandings.

Mr. Gibbs. Does your lordſhip think that this ſort of examination ought to go on without mentioning the name of any perſon from whom it came; it is, your lordſhip ſees, utterly impoſſible for us to have an opportunity of contradicting this kind of evidence.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. If he knows who the perſons were who mentioned theſe particulars he is now ſtating, he ought to give their names; if he does not know the names of the perſons, he ſhould ſtate it as being ſaid by perſons of that ſociety.

Mr. Law. Do you recollect any converſation held by perſons whom you recollect to have been members of the London Correſponding Society reſpecting the means by which theſe objects were to be obtained?

A. I cannot recollect any particular perſon; but I may venture to ſay it was the general voice of the ſociety.

Q. Did you hear any thing publicly expreſſed in the ſociety about arms?

A. No, never.

Q. Was you preſent at any lecture of Mr. Thelwall's?

A. I have two or three times been there.

Q. What was the ſort of exhortation, the object of thoſe lectures?

A. That is a matter of opinion I believe, if I am allowed to give my opinion upon thoſe lectures I will.

Q. I am not aſking your opinion of their general tendency, but what was the ſubſtance of them?

A. It was a general abuſe of adminiſtration altogether.

Q. Did he ſpeak of the branches of the legiſlature?

A. Certainly, in their reſpective capacities.

Q. In what manner did he repreſent them?

A. In every way that was truly ridiculous.

Q. In what manner did he ſpeak of his majeſty?

A. In terms of contempt.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. What were thoſe terms of contempt?

A. I have heard him make uſe of the word Solomon.

Q. Did you ever hear him ſpeak of the Houſe of Lords and ſpeak of the utility or inutility of that branch of legiſlature?

A. I have.

Q. What did he ſay about the Houſe of Lords?

A. He ſaid that it was an ariſtocratic branch that ſwallowed up almoſt every other function of the government.

Q. Did he recommend the abolition of any of thoſe parts?

A. A new *modellation* he recommended.

Q. In what manner did he recommend them to be new-modelled?

A. By the general ſenſe of the country.

Q. How to be taken?

A. By annual parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage.

Q. Did he recommend any particular means of obtaining thoſe annual parliaments?

A. If I underſtood him right, his meaning was——

Q. Did you ever hear him mention a convention?

A. Yes, by calling together the whole body of the people.

Q. Did he recommend that meaſure?

A. He certainly did.

Q. He recommended a convention for the purpoſe of new modelling the government and obtaining annual parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage?

A. Yes,

A. Yes.

Q. Was you preſent at Chalk Farm?

A. I was.

Q. On what day was you there?

A. If I recollect right, the 14th of April.

Q. Was there a very large aſſembly of perſons there?

A. There was a very large aſſembly of perſons there.

Q. Do you know the perſons of any preſent?

A. I do now know, I was not then ſufficiently acquainted to deſcribe them, but ſince I have had means of knowledge.

Q. Do you know the priſoner?

A. Yes.

Q. Was he among the perſons preſent?

A. He was.

Q. Who was in the chair?

A. I believe a man of the name of Lovett.

Q. What paſſed at that meeting?

A. There was a letter read from a ſociety called the Friends of the People, which letter contained——

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. No matter, you muſt not ſtate the contents of the letter.

Mr. Law. State any converſation and tranſactions at that meeting which you recollect by any perſons whom you have ſince known to be members of the London Correſponding Society, what was propoſed to be done there?

A. The propoſal was, that there ſhould be an addreſs.

Q. Have you no other recollection of what you heard read or ſpoken?

A. If I may be allowed to look at a paper I have in my pocket.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. If he can ſpeak to any particulars that happened there beyond the addreſs, and what is contained in the addreſs, to be ſure it will be proper to examine him to it; I believe the addreſs is in evidence.

Mr. Attorney-General. It has not yet been read, but I am going to read it.

Mr.

Mr. Law. Were any printed papers delivered at that meeting?

A. There were.

Q. Have you any of them?

A. I have. (*produces a copy*)

It was read.

" *At a General Meeting of the* London Corresponding Society, " *held on the* Green, *at* Chalk Farm, *on Monday the 14th of* " *April*, 1794, J. LOVETT *in the Chair, the following letter* " *were read:*

" *To the Chairman of the Society of the Friends of the People.*

" Sir,

" At a crisis so important as the present there needs no apology " on the part of the '*London Corresponding Society*,' for address- " ing itself to all other associated Societies, who have in view the " same object as themselves.

" To the '*Society of the Friends of the People*,' arguments are " not wanting to shew the importance and absolute necessity of a " full and fair Representation of the People of Great Britain. " *They* have investigated the subject for themselves; *they* have " exposed to the world a series of plain and indisputable facts, " which must excite in the mind of every man well disposed to " his country, apprehensions of alarm for the security of the few " remaining vestiges of Liberty, from which, as Britons, we de- " rive consolation.

" Deeply impressed with considerations of this nature, the " London Corresponding Society earnestly solicits, at this time, " the concurrence and assistance of the *Society of the Friends of* " *the People*, in assembling, as speedily as the nature of the bu- " siness will admit, a Convention of the Friends of Freedom, for " the purpose of obtaining, in a legal and constitutional method, a " full and effectual representation.

" Our request is not made from the impressions of the moment, " but after the maturest deliberations on the value and import- " ance of the object for which we are contending, and of the

" difficulties

" difficulties we may expect from thoſe whoſe preſent intereſts
" render them hoſtile to the welfare of their country.

" The oppoſition of ſuch perſons is no ſmall argument for the
" goodneſs of our cauſe; and their late conduct when compared
" with their former profeſſions, exhibits a depravity, unparallell-
" ed, we truſt, on the page of hiſtory.

" Under the auſpices of apoſtate reformers, we have lately be-
" held ſerious and alarming encroachments on the Liberties of
" the People.

" We have ſeen with indignation and horror men *legally* and
" *peaceably* aſſembled, diſperſed by unconſtitutional powers, and
" their papers ſeized.

" We have ſeen ſome of our moſt virtuous brethren, whoſe
" only crime has been an imitation of Mr. PITT, and his aſſo-
" ciates, ſentenced to fourteen years tranſportation, without the
" ſanction of law or even of precedent, of which number, one
" was held up in the Britiſh Parliament as *convicted* and *con-*
" *demned*, before he was even put upon his trial.

" The inſidious attempts alſo to introduce foreign troops into
" this country, without the conſent of parliament, and the in-
" tended bill to embody foreigners into his Majeſty's ſervice, are
" meaſures ſufficiently calculated to awaken our fears for the ex-
" iſtence even of the name of Liberty. Nor can we overlook that
" part of the preſent ſyſtem of corruption, which maintains out of
" the public plunder, a train of ſpies, more dangerous to ſociety
" than ſo many aſſaſſins, whoſe avowed buſineſs is to deſtroy the
" friends of the country, one by one.

" Thoſe are grievances which demand immediate redreſs, and
" when added to thoſe evils which are neceſſarily connected with
" every *partial* repreſentation of the People, call for the ſtrenuous
" exertions of every lover of his country.

" But we are told that the preſent is not the time for Reform,
" and that innovation may introduce diſturbance. Are thoſe
" perſons to judge of the proper time to make Reform, who exiſt
" only by corruption? Are the People of Britain to endure
" every thing without repining, without ardently ſeeking a radical
" Reform, becauſe diſturbances *may* happen? Have the enemies

" to

" to Reform told us whence theſe diſturbances are to originate?
" Has a ſingle overt act been committed by the friends to Free-
" dom? Have not all the riots, all the public diſturbances, all
" the ſeditious aſſemblies been excited by the enemies to Reform?
" And do they mean to tell us that they will ſtill find other in-
" ſtruments for their wicked deſigns; that they have yet thoſe
" who will act over again the outrages that have been perpe-
" trated in ſome parts of Britain, and attempted in others?

" If ſuch is the determination of thoſe perſons *hoſtile* to a *fair*
" Repreſentation, *let them look to the conſequences*, but let them
" recollect that it has happened, and may happen again, that thoſe
" who kindled the flames have periſhed by them.

" The friends to *Reform* are friends to *Peace*, their principles
" can be promoted only by peaceable means, they know of no
" other method of obtaining the object they deſire. But they
" will not be alarmed by the threats of *venal apoſtates*, they will
" not draw back becauſe they have ſeen ſome of their beſt
" friends doomed to exile. They will purſue the courſe in
" which they have begun, and turn neither to the right nor to
" the left.

" Convinced as the London Correſponding Society is, that as
" there is no Power which *ought*, ſo there is no Power which *can*
" finally withſtand the juſt and ſteady demands of a People re-
" ſolved to be Free; they will therefore look with confidence to
" the *determination*, and they hope to the *co-operation of the 'So-*
" *ciety of the Friends of the People,'* in the attainment of an object
" which involves the deareſt intereſts of ſociety.

" Convinced alſo that their intentions are of the pureſt kind,
" they will never ſtoop to anſwer the calumnies of their enemies;
" but will at all times, and in all circumſtances, endeavour, by
" firmneſs and perſeverance, to deſerve the countenance and ap-
" probation of the beſt friends of their country, *the friends of a*
" *fair Repreſentation of the People of Great Britain.*

" I am, Sir,

" For the London Correſponding Society,

" April 4, 1794. " THOMAS HARDY, Sec."

" COM-

" *COMMITTEE ROOM,*

" Frith-ſtreet, April 11, 1794.

" Sir,

" Your letter of the 4th inſtant, addreſſed to Mr. SHERI-
" DAN, Chairman of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE,
" was laid before that SOCIETY at their Meeting on Satur-
" day laſt; and they inſtructed their Committee to thank the
" LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY for their
" communication, and to expreſs the alarm they feel in common
" with every Friend of Liberty, at the late extraordinary pro-
" ceedings of Government, ſo ably detailed, and ſo juſtly repro-
" bated by your Society. They aſſure you that all the Friends
" of Reform, may 'look with confidence to the determination
" and co-operation' of this Society in every peaceable and con-
" ſtitutional meaſure, which ſhall appear to them calculated to
" promote the object of their inſtitution; but they do not think
" that which is recommended in your letter, is likely to ſerve its
" profeſſed purpoſe. They fear it will furniſh the Enemies of
" Reform with the means of calumniating its Advocates, and ſo
" far from forwarding the cauſe, will deter many from counte-
" nancing that which they approve. For theſe reaſons, the
" Friends of the People muſt decline to ſend Delegates to the
" Convention propoſed by the London Correſponding Society:
" —At the ſame time, they renew their aſſurances of good will,
" and deſire of preſerving a proper underſtanding and cordiality
" among all the Friends of Parliamentary Reform, notwithſtand-
" ing any difference of opinion that may occur as to the beſt
" method of accompliſhing it,

" In the Name, and by Order, of the Committee,

(Signed) " W. BRETTON, Chairman."

" *To Mr.* T. HARDY, *Secretary to the*
" *London Correſponding Society.*"

Mr. Law. Was that letter from the Friends of the People read there?

A. It was.

Q. How was it received?

A. With

A. With univerſal ſilence, I believe, I do not recollect any approbation of it.

Q. Do you recollect any marks of the contrary?

A. Yes, there was ſome few fell a hiſſing.

" *The following* RESOLUTIONS *were then paſſed Unanimouſly:*

" Reſolved Unanimouſly,

" I. That this Society have beheld with riſing indignation, " proportioned to the enormity of the evil, the late rapid advances " of deſpotiſm in Britain; the invaſion of public ſecurity; the " contempt of popular opinion; and the violation of all thoſe " proviſions of the Conſtitution intended to protect the People " againſt the encroachments of Power and Prerogative.

" II. That our abhorrence and deteſtation have been particularly called forth by the late arbitrary and flagitious proceedings of the Court of Juſticiary in Scotland, where all the doctrines and practices of the *Star Chamber*, in the times of " Charles the Firſt, have been *revived* and *aggravated*; and " where ſentences have been pronounced in open violation of all " Law and Juſtice, which muſt ſtrike deep into the heart of " every man, the melancholy conviction that BRITONS ARE NO " LONGER FREE.

" III. That the whole Proceedings of the late Britiſh Convention of the People at Edinburgh, are ſuch as claim our approbation and applauſe.

" IV. That the conduct of Citizens MARGAROT and GERALD in particular, by its ſtrict conformity with our wiſhes " and inſtructions, and the ability, firmneſs, and diſintereſted Patriotiſm which it ſo eminently diſplayed, has inſpired an enthuſiaſm of Zeal and Attachment which no time can obliterate, " and no perſecution remove; and that we will preſerve their " names engraven on our hearts till we have an opportunity to " redreſs their wrongs.

" V. That any attempt to violate thoſe yet remaining Laws, " which were intended for the Security of Engliſhmen againſt " the Tyranny of Courts and Miniſters, and the Corruption of

" dependent

" dependent Judges, by veſting in ſuch Judges a legiſlative or " arbitrary power, (ſuch as has lately been exerciſed by the Court " of Juſticiary in Scotland) ought to be conſidered as diſſolving " entirely the ſocial compact between the Engliſh Nation and " their Governors; and driving them to an immediate appeal to " that incontrovertible maxim of eternal Juſtice, *that the ſafety* " *of the People is the* SUPREME, *and in caſes of neceſſity, the* " ONLY *Law,*

" VI. That the arming and diſciplining in this Country, " either with or without the conſent of Parliament, any Bands of " *Emigrants and Foreigners, driven from their own Country for* " *their known attachment to an* INFAMOUS DESPOTISM, is an " outrageous attempt to *overawe* and *intimidate* the *free* ſpirit of " Britons; to ſubjugate them to an army of *mercenary* Cut-" throats, whoſe *views and intereſt* muſt of neceſſity be in direct " oppoſition to thoſe of the Nation, and that *no pretence what-*" *ever* OUGHT to induce the people to *ſubmit* to ſo *unconſtitu-*" *tional* a meaſure,

" VII. That the unconſtitutional project of raiſing money and " troops by forced benevolences (and no benevolences collected " upon requiſition from the King or his Miniſters can ever in " reality be voluntary) and the equally unjuſtifiable meaſure of " arming one part of the People againſt the other, brought " Charles the Firſt to the block, and drove James the Second and " his poſterity from the Throne; and that conſequently Mini-" ſters in adviſing ſuch Meaſures, ought to conſider whether they " are not guilty of High Treaſon.

" VIII. That this Society have beheld with conſiderable plea-" ſure the *conſiſtent reſpect* which the Houſe of Lords diſplayed " for their own Conſtitutional Rules and Orders, on the fourth of " the preſent month, upon the motion of Earl Stanhope, con-" cerning the interference of Miniſters in the Internal Govern-" ment of France; and that it is the firm conviction of this So-" ciety, that this circumſtance when properly detailed, will have " a conſiderable effect in convincing the country at large, of the " true dignity and utility of that branch of HIS MAJESTY's " PARLIAMENT;

" IX. That

" IX. That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to EARL " STANHOPE, for his manly and patriotic conduct during the " preſent Seſſion of Parliament; a conduct which (unſupported " as it has been in the Senate, of which HE is ſo truly honourable " a Member) has, together with the timely interference of cer- " tain ſpirited and patriotic Aſſociations, been nevertheleſs al- " ready productive of the ſalutary effect of chaſing the Heſſian " and Hanoverian Mercenaries from our Coaſts; who, but for " theſe exertions, might have been marched perhaps, ere this, into " the very heart of the Country, together with others of their " Countrymen, to have peopled the BARRACKS, which every " where inſult the Eyes of Britons.

" X. That it is the firm conviction of this Society, that a " ſteady perſeverance in the ſame bold and energetic ſentiments, " which have lately been avowed by the Friends of Freedom, " cannot fail of crowning with ultimate triumph, the virtuous " Cauſe in which we are engaged, ſince whatever may be the " intereſted Opinion of *Hereditary* Senators, or *packed* Majori- " ties of *pretended* Repreſentatives; Truth and Liberty in an " age ſo enlightened as the preſent, muſt be Invincible and " Omnipotent."

" *This Society having already addreſſed* M. Margarot, *their* " *Delegate, an* ADDRESS *to* JOSEPH GERALD *was* " *read as follows, and carried unanimouſly.*

" *To* JOSEPH GERALD, *a priſoner ſentenced by the* High " Court *of Juſticiary of* Scotland, *to* Tranſportation *beyond* " *the Seas for* FOURTEEN YEARS!

" We behold in you our beloved and reſpected friend and fel- " low-citizen, a Martyr to the Glorious Cauſe of Equal Repre- " ſentation, and we cannot permit you to leave this degraded " country without expreſſing the infinite obligations the people " at large, and we in particular, owe to you for your very ſpirited " exertions in that cauſe upon every occaſion; but upon none " more conſpicuouſly, than during the ſitting of the BRITISH " CONVENTION of the PEOPLE at Edinburgh, and the conſe-

" quent

" quent *proceeding* (we *will* not call it *trial*) at the bar of the " Court of Juſticiary.

" We know not which moſt deſerves our admiration, the ſplen- " did talents with which you are ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed; the " exalted virtues by which they have been directed; the perſeve- " rance and undaunted firmneſs which you ſo nobly diſplayed in " reſiſting the wrongs of your inſulted and oppreſſed country; or " your preſent manly and philoſophical ſuffering under an *arbi-* " *trary*, and till of late *unprecedented* ſentence: a ſentence one " of the moſt vindictive and cruel that has been pronounced ſince " the days of that *moſt infamous* and *ever-to-be-deteſted* Court of " Star Chamber, the enormous tyranny of which coſt the firſt " Charles his head.

" To you and your aſſociates we feel ourſelves moſt deeply in- " debted. For us it is that you are ſuffering the ſentence of " Tranſportation with felons, the vileſt outcaſts of Society! For " us it is that you are doomed to the inhoſpitable ſhores of New " Holland; where, however, we doubt not you will experience " conſiderable alleviation by the remembrance of that VIRTUOUS " CONDUCT for which it is impoſed on you, and by the ſincere " regard and eſteem of your Fellow Citizens.

" The Equal Laws of this Country have, for ages paſt, been " the boaſt of its inhabitants: But whither are they now fled? " We are animated by the ſame ſentiments, are daily repeating " the ſame words, and committing the ſame actions for which " you are thus infamouſly ſentenced; and we will repeat and " commit them until we have obtained redreſs; yet we are un- " puniſhed! either therefore the law is Unjuſt towards you in in- " flicting *Puniſhment* on the Exertions of *Virtue and Talents*, or " it *ought* not to deprive us of *our ſhare* in the GLORY of " the *Martyrdom*.

" We again, therefore, pledge ourſelves to you and to our " country, never to ceaſe demanding our Rights from thoſe " who have uſurped them, until having obtained an Equal Repre- " ſentation of the People, we ſhall be enabled to hail you once " more with Triumph to your native country.——We wiſh you

" Health and Happineſs; and be aſſured we never, *never* ſhall " forget *your Name*, *your Virtues*, nor YOUR GREAT EX- " AMPLE.

" The London Correſponding Society.

" JOHN LOVETT, Chairman.

" THOMAS HARDY, Secretary.

" The 14th of April, 1794."

" *It was alſo unanimouſly reſolved*,

" That the Committee of Correſpondence be directed to con- " vey the approbation of this Society—I. To Archibald Hamil- " ton Rowan, priſoner in the Newgate of the city of Dublin, " for his unſhaken attachment to the people, and for his ſpirited " aſſertion of their rights.

" II. To John Philpot Curran for his admirable and energe- " tic defence of A. H. Rowan, and the principles of Liberty, " as well as for his patriotic conduct in Parliment.

" III. To the Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin, and to " exhort them to perſevere in their exertions to obtain juſtice " for the people of Ireland.

" IV. To Skirving, Palmer and Muir, ſuffering the ſame ini- " quitous ſentences, and in the ſame cauſe with our Delegates.

" V. To John Clark, and Alexander Reid, for their ſo readily " and diſintereſtedly giving bail for our Delegates, inſtigated " thereto ſolely by their attachment to Liberty, uninfluenced by " any perſonal conſideration.

" VI. To Adam Gillies, Malcolm Laing, and James Gibſon, " for their able aſſiſtance given to Joſeph Gerald, at the bar of " the High Court of Juſticiary at Edinburgh.

" VII. To felicitate Thomas Walker, of Manchester, and " the people at large on the event of his, as well as ſeveral other " late trials, and on the developement of the infamy of a ſyſtem " of Spies and Informers.

" VIII. To Sir Joſeph Mawbey, for his manly conduct at " the late ſurreptitious Meeting held at Epſom in Surrey.

" It

" It was alſo unanimouſly Reſolved,

" That Two Hundred Thouſand Copies of the Proceedings " and Reſolutions of this Meeting be printed and publiſhed.

" J. LOVETT, Chairman.

" T. HARDY, Secretary.

" Reſolved,

" That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman, " for his manly and impartial conduct this day.

" T. HARDY, Secretary."

Mr. Law. With whom did you go to this meeting?

A. I went from a place in Store-ſtreet, Tottenham-court-road, a good part of the way with Mr. Thelwall.

Q. How came you to know that the meeting was to be held at Chalk Farm, had you any reaſon to expect it to be held at any other place?

A. I had reaſon at firſt to believe it would be held in Store-ſtreet.

Q. Was the change of place intimated to you?

A. Not till after I got to Store-ſtreet.

Q. Who told you it was to be at Chalk Farm?

A. Thelwall.

Q. Did he tell you why it was given out to be held in Store-ſtreet?

A. If I recollect right, he told me the reaſon given out of its being to be held in Store-ſtreet, was an imagination of the magiſtracy interfering to prevent the meeting.

Q. Were there any written or printed papers giving notice at Store-ſtreet, informing perſons the meeting would be held at Chalk Farm?

A. Yes; a written notice of it put upon the door.

Q. Who propoſed Mr. Lovett's being put in the chair?

A. I cannot ſay.

Q. Who were the principal perſons who ſpoke and acted in that meeting.

A. Mr. Lovett, Mr. Richter, Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Hodſon.

Q. Did Mr. Thelwall make a ſpeech at that meeting?

A. Two or three.

Q. Do you recollect any thing particular in either of thoſe ſpeeches reſpecting ſpies or informers?

A. There was a clamour went round that there were ſpies and informers there; Mr. Thelwall was for admitting all ſpies and informers there, becauſe the number of the members of the London Correſponding Society, could be no agreeable news to the miniſter.

Q. Who read the reſolutions?

A. I think Mr. Richter.

Q. Do you remember any objection being made to the words "a Britiſh Senate," in one of thoſe reſolutions?

A. I think there was.

Q. By whom was that objection made?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Do you recollect Mr. Thelwall ſaying any thing upon that ſubject?

A. As far as my belief goes, I can ſay, but no further.

Q. After that meeting was over, where did you adjourn to; where did you ſpend your evening; do you recollect any thing particular that Mr. Hardy ſaid or did at that meeting?

A. I only recollect Mr. Hardy ſpeaking three words: Mr. Richter was reading, and in the midſt of his reading he ſtopt ſhort to make ſome obſervations of his own; Mr. Hardy, who ſtood below, ſaid, looking up to him, read, Sir, without comment; that was all he ſaid, and that is the whole I recollect of Mr. Hardy's ſaying any thing at all.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. What was Richter reading at that time?

A. The paper that has been juſt read.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Which of thoſe papers?

A. The Addreſs of the London Correſponding Society.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. The General Addreſs; the Addreſs to Margarot; or, the Approbation of Hamilton Rowan, and the reſt?

A. I mean the General Addreſs.

Mr.

Mr. Law. Do you remember any mention of a future meeting to be held of the ſociety?

A. There was a talk of a meeeting to be called again ſoon.

Q. Do you recollect who mentioned that?

A. No.

Q. After the buſineſs of the day was over, where did you adjourn to for ſupper?

A. I went to the diviſion room in Compton-ſtreet.

Q. Were ſuppers provided at other diviſions?

A. I do not know, I never went to any but my own diviſion.

Q. Who was chairman?

A. Mr. Thelwall.

Q. Do you recollect any remarkable language uſed by Thelwall during ſupper, or in the courſe of that evening?

A. I heard ſomething which very much aſtoniſhed me.

Q. What was it?

A. Thelwall ſaid, taking up a pot of porter in his hand, which had been delivered him by ſome waiter or ſomebody, he blew off the head of the porter, and ſaid, this is the way I would have all Kings ſerved, or this is the way I would ſerve all Kings, I know not which.

Q. But one or other of thoſe expreſſions you are certain to?

A. One or other I am certain of.

Q. Was there any particular toaſt given?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that toaſt?

A. The lantern, at the end of Parliament-ſtreet.

Q. The lamp-iron?

A. Yes; I beg pardon, the lamp-iron, at the end of Parliament-ſtreet.

Q. Did he call upon any body elſe for another toaſt?

A. He called upon ſomebody to cover it.

Q. What was it covered with?

A. Somebody, whom I know not, in the further end of the room, cried out, the Treaſury Bench.

Q. Were thoſe toaſts drank by the perſons then aſſembled?

A. They were.

Q. And the perſons aſſembled conſiſted of members of that diviſion of the Correſponding Society?

A. Yes; I ſhould believe that no viſitor was there that night?

Q. Do you know a perſon of the name of Green?

A. Yes.

Q. Is he a member of the Correſponding Society?

A. Yes; he was at that time.

Q. What converſation had you with him at the time he was a member of the Correſponding Society, reſpecting Univerſal Suffrage, and Annual Parliaments?

A. That was not in the diviſion room.

Q. What did he ſay reſpecting the general object of their plan, what they aimed at attaining?

A. He once ſaid to me that Annual Parliaments and Univerſal Suffrage, were only ladders to obtain their ends, or words to that effect.

Q. Was he of the ſame diviſion with yourſelf?

A. He was.

Q. Where was it?

A. In a place called the Coffee-room, before you go into the diviſion room.

One of the Jury. Was it that ſame evening you have been ſpeaking of?

A. No, I am not ſpeaking of that ſame evening.

Mr. Law. Where is the houſe in which this paſſed?

A. No. 3, in Compton-ſtreet, Soho.

Q. Did he ſay any thing reſpecting the uſe parliament was of?

A. Yes.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Was there any body elſe preſent, or was that a converſation between you two only?

A. Between us two, there were ſeveral other people in the place called the Coffee-room.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Were they near enough to hear this converſation?

A. I do not think any one was.

Mr.

Mr. Law. Did Green ſhew you a knife of any particular conſtruction?

A. I muſt explain that by ſomething which happened previous to it.—At the meeting at Chalk Farm, there was a kind of ſhed in which we were all ſitting previous to the commencement of the buſineſs, and there was a bit of bread and cheeſe and ſome porter brought; I was ſitting with half a dozen or ten in the ſame box, and I was ſurprized by five or ſix of them pulling out little inſtruments exactly correſponding with each other.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. What ſort of an inſtrument?

A. I mean a ſort of thing called a *couteau ſecret*, a French knife.

Mr. Law. Deſcribe the form of them, have you got one of them?

A. I have not.

Q. Have you ſeen a French knife?

A. Yes; there is a ſpring, ſo that when the blade is put out, unleſs you undo that ſpring it cannot cloſe.

Q. Were they fixed like a common caſe knife?

A. Exactly; and unleſs the ſpring fails, the perſon cannot cut himſelf by its flying back.

Q. You obſerved ſeveral of them with thoſe knives?

A. I think five or ſix.

Q. You do not recollect, I believe, who the perſons were that were uſing them?

A. Yes, one.

Q. Who was that?

A. His name was Pearce.

Q. Having ſeen theſe knives when in company with Green, and he was making this declaration, did you apply to him about a knife, or did he ſhew you a knife of that ſame conſtruction?

A. It was in conſequence of the converſation I learned; when I ſaw five or ſix of them with knives of the ſame deſcription, an obſervation was made by one of the company that they were bread and cheeſe knives, and upon that obſervation there was a ſmile; I looked upon them as harmleſs inſtruments certainly.

Q. Did you learn from Green what number of theſe knives he had ſold?

A. I aſked where they were to be bought, and I was told I might get them of Mr. Green; I aſked where Mr. Green lived, they told me in Orange-ſtreet; there was a man from Sheffield in the box whoſe name I do not recollect, his perſon I well know.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Did you know where Green lived at that time?

A. I did not, I aſked where they were to be bought; one of the company ſaid at Mr. Green's, I aſked where he lived; they ſaid he was a perfumer and hair-dreſſer in Orange-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields.

Q. Did you go to buy one?

A. In about a week after I did.

Q. Did you learn from Green what number of theſe knives he had ſold?

A. I think he ſaid two or three hundred; Mr. Green told me to ſpeak very low, for the parlour-door was open which was adjoining the ſhop, and he ſmiled and ſaid, for my wife is a damned Ariſtocrat.

Q. Did you attend afterwards a meeting of your diviſion, which I think was No. 2, in Compton-ſtreet, on the 28th of April?

A. I cannot recollect exactly the day, but I believe I attended regularly.

Q. Do you recollect any obſervation made by Pearce, reſpecting thoſe knives, and the uſe and convenience of them?

A. At the meeting at Chalk-Farm he did.

Q. What did he ſay about the convenience of theſe knives?

A. He ſaid, if you ſtrike with them they will not fly back, or words to that purpoſe.

Q. Pearce is a perſon whom you are ſure you ſaw uſing one of theſe knives at Chalk-Farm?

A. I am very ſure of that; there was a man from Sheffield, who found fault very much with the conſtruction of theſe knives.

Q. What was the fault he found with them?

A. That

A. That they were made in a bungling manner, that they were not equal to thoſe made at Sheffield.

Q. Did he mention that there were many others of a ſimilar conſtruction made at Sheffield?

A. He did.

Q. You ſay you do not recollect the day of the month?

A. No.

Q. Were you preſent at any meeting, when any ſubſcription was made for Doctor Hodſon?

A. Yes.

Q. Where was any ſubſcription for this Doctor Hodſon propoſed when you was preſent?

A. In the diviſion.

Q. Do you recollect when that was?

A. I do not recollect the date of that.

Q. Was ſuch a ſubſcription propoſed?

A. There was.

Q. Was any thing collected under that ſubſcription?

A. That I cannot ſay, I think to the contrary; I think they ſaid he had been relieved; I am bound to ſpeak the truth, and therefore muſt certainly add this to it, that the application for relief was rejected on the ground of the violence of that perſon's conduct, and I think there was another reaſon if my memory is right; he was not conſidered as a member of the London Correſponding Society.

Q. I believe you were preſent at the dinner at the Crown and Anchor-Tavern, on the ſecond of May?

A. I was.

Q. Before I go to that, I will juſt aſk you as to one meeting at an earlier period, the 25th of February 1794. Do you recollect being preſent at a diviſion-meeting, when any addreſs from Stockport was read?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you that addreſs about you?

A. I do not think I have.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. What day?

A. In the month of February.

Mr. Law.

Mr. Law. Can you aſcertain at what part of the month?

A. No.

Q. What was the number of your diviſion?

A. No. II.

Q. I thought that had been the number of the houſe?

A. Number three was the number of the houſe, No. II. the number of the diviſion.

Q. Look at that paper, and ſay, whether that is the paper that was read at the meeting in February laſt, at your diviſion?

A. This paper I am very ſure was delivered; I need not look at the contents, becauſe there are my initials upon it.

[*It was read.*]

" RIGHTS OF SWINE;

" *An Addreſs to the Poor.*

" Printed in the year 1794.

" *I alſo will ſhew mine opinion.*"

" Hard indeed muſt be the heart which is unaffected with the " preſent diſtreſs experienced by the poor in general in this com- " mercial nation. Thouſands of honeſt and induſtrious people " in Great-Britain are literally ſtarving for want of bread; and " the cauſe invariably aſſigned is a ſtagnant commerce. My " opinion on this ſubject will perhaps appear to ſome a ſtrange " phænomena—it is, that a ſtagnant commerce is not the *real* " cauſe of the want of the neceſſaries of life among the laborious " poor. And I am confident, that, while the " Earth yields her " increaſe," there is a method founded on JUSTICE and REASON, " to prevent the poor from wanting bread, be the ſtate of trade " whatever it may.

" In the firſt place, then, I will aſk, what are the principal " ſources of human ſubſiſtence? Certainly corn and graſs. Corn " is moulded into many ſhapes for the uſe of man, but chiefly " into bread, which is the ſtaff of life; and from graſs, we " derive our fleſh, milk, butter, cheeſe, &c. beſides wool and " leather, which, I think, with the addition of coal, and a few " other minerals, nearly make up the real neceſſaries of life.

" I aſk

" I aſk again then, who is ſo infatuated as to ſay, that the " growing of corn or graſs, is dependent on, or connected with, " the proſperity or adverſity of trade? Certainly (thank Heaven!) " they are not affected by the devouring ſword, or ruined com- " merce (except at the ſeat of war).—Corn grows not in the " loom, nor graſs upon the anvil! Why is it, then, that while " there is plenty of bread the poor are ſtarving? Is there not as " much grain in the land as when the trade flouriſhed? Suppoſe " trade were to riſe immediately to an amazing degree, would it " make one grain of corn or blade of graſs? Certainly not. " Why then, I aſk again, are the poor, who are the peculiar " care of HIM who delights to do his needy creatures good, not " ſatisfied with the good of the land?

" The following reaſons are at leaſt ſatisfactory to myſelf:— " Becauſe, in the time of national proſperity, houſe and land rent " (conſequently proviſions) are always raiſed by the wealthy " and voluptuous, till they are, at leaſt, at par with high wages; " but, when WAR, or any other cauſe, has ruined or impeded " commerce, and reduced wages, *rents* and *proviſions* remain " unabated. The poor callico-weavers in the vicinity of Man- " cheſter, notoriouſly illuſtrate this argument, as they are now " (they who can get any) working for fifty and ſixty per cent. " leſs wages than at this time two years back, and the neceſſaries " of life are rather augmented in their prices than diminiſhed!!!

" Hearken, O ye Poor of the Land! While great men have " an unbounded power to raiſe *their* rents and *your* proviſions— " and, at the ſame time, an uncontrouled power to make *War*, " and conſequently to dry up, or diminiſh, the ſources of your " income, your ſubſiſtence will, at the beſt, be precarious, and " your very exiſtence often miſerable!—The preſent want of " bread amongſt the poor, is not owing to the want of grain in " the world, nor, I preſume, in this land, but owing to the " price of it being exceſſively above the price of labour. When, " therefore, the price of labour cannot be brought up to the rate " of proviſions, proviſions ſhould be reduced to the rate of " labour. Till this is practicable, the poor are miſerable!

" During

" During the laſt twenty years, mechanical wages have been " varied, according to circumſtances, ſeveral times, and not " unuſually, in ſome branches, twenty, thirty, forty, and even " fifty per cent.—I mean on the lowering, as well as the riſing " ſide of the medium. But, with regard to *land-rent*, its varia- " tions have always been progreſſive; and to find a ſingle " inſtance to the contrary, would be almoſt, if not altogether, " impoſſible!

" It requires but little ſagacity to ſee, that the Game Laws, " Riot-Act, Laws againſt Vagrants and Felons, &c. &c. are " made chiefly for the ſecurity of the *rich* againſt the depredations " of the *poor*. But what ſecurity have the *poor* againſt the op- " preſſion and extortion of the *rich*? Certainly none at all. As " every comfort of life is derived from land, and as the rich are " the proprietors thereof, it may in ſome ſenſe be ſaid, that they " hold the iſſues of life and death; and, whilſt they can, uninter- " ruptedly, raiſe their rents without limitation or reſtraint, they " have an alarming and unbounded power over, not only the " happineſs, but even the *lives* of the great maſs of the people— " the *poor!*

" If, then, Stateſmen have a right to advance their lands " in times of proſperity, the *Poor* ought to have a Parliament " of their *own chuſing*, inveſted with power to reduce them " in days of adverſity. This balance of power between the " *Rich* and the *Poor*, would be productive of a thouſand times " more conſolation to this Nation, than the chimerical nonſenſe " of court-jugglers, " *the balance of power in Europe.*" Nor " can I imagine that any judicious perſon would call ſuch a " power in Parliament unjuſt or irrational, which, when exer- " ciſed, could ruin none, but bleſs millions! If it would be cruel " to make a Stateſman of twenty thouſand pounds per annum, " live a year or two upon ten thouſand; how much more re- " morſeleſs is it, to make the Spitalfield and Norwich weavers, " as well as ſome hundred thouſands more, live upon nothing— " or, what is little better, upon *Charity!!!* Beſides, it is a " curious truth, that the very article which ruins hundreds of the

" voluptuous

" voluptuous great, would render happy the innumerable un-
" happy part of mankind!

" GREAT GOD! What ſpectacle ſo affecting to a reflecting
" mind as Great Britain in her preſent ſtate!—On the one hand,
" we ſee the impudent Nobles advertiſing their " *Grand Din-*
" *ners*," in the very face of the hungry Poor, whom they have
" ruined!! On the other hand, Widows, Orphans, and others
" are weeping, and often dying for want of bread! What can
" be more odious in the ſight of Heaven, than Feaſt and Fa-
" mine in the ſame Nation? Yet, this is literally the caſe in this
" Kingdom, at this moment, and not only in the Nation, but
" in every town, in every ſtreet, yea, often under the very
" ſame roof!

" Open your eyes, O ye Poor of the land!—in vain are your
" hands and your mouths open!—Do you not ſee how you are
" cajoled and degraded, by the paltry ſubſcriptions made for you,
" at different times and in various parts of the nation; which
" ſerve only to make your Slavery more ſervile, and your Miſery
" of longer duration? I revere generous ſubſcribers and col-
" lectors, but I ſcorn the means! Ye Poor, take a further look
" into your Rights, and you will ſee, that, upon the principles
" of Reaſon and Juſtice, every peaceable and uſeful perſon has
" a right, yea, a " *Divine Right*" to be ſatisfied with the good
" of the Land! Beſides, is it not monſtrouſly provoking to be
" robbed by wholeſale, and relieved by retail! Look again, and
" you will ſee that public Collections, Subſcriptions, and Cha-
" rities, are nothing more than the appendages of Corruption,
" Extortion, and Oppreſſion! If the benevolent Father of the
" Univerſe did not ſend amongſt mankind proviſions enough,
" and more than enough, ſuch is the waſte of the great and the
" gluttonous, that many of you Poor, would get none at all!
" Say not, therefore, ye Oppreſſed, " *there is a famine, or*
" *ſcarcity of proviſions in the Land!*" It would be falſe. The
" Land contains plenty; and if proviſions were (as they ought
" to be) reduced to your wages, you would enjoy your un-
" queſtionable right, a comfortable ſufficiency.

" But,

" But, beſides the deſtruction of your trade, and the means " of ſubſiſtence, you have the mortification to ſee your Bread " eaten by Dragoon and Hunting Horſes, Spaniels, &c. and " your parental, affectionate, loving, provident and tender " Guardians, can give you a good reaſon why—it is their " own!

" Hearken! O ye poor of the Land! Do you fret and whine " at Oppreſſion—" yes"—" Then, as ye do, ſo did your Fa- " thers before you"—and, if you *do no more*, your Children " may whine after you! Awake! Ariſe! arm yourſelves— " with Truth, Juſtice and Reaſon—lay ſiege to Corruption; " and your unity and invincibility ſhall teach your Oppreſſors " terrible things!—Purge the Repreſentation of your Country " —claim, as your inalienable right, Univerſal Suffrage, and " Annual Parliaments. And whenever you have the gratifica- " tion to chuſe a repreſentative, let him be from among the " lower order of men, and he will know how to ſympathize " with you, and repreſent you in character.—Then, and not " till then, ſhall you experience univerſal Peace and inceſſant " Plenty.

" A FRIEND TO THE POOR.

" *Stockport, Jan.* 5, 1794."

Mr. Law. I think you ſay you were preſent at the dinner at the Crown and Anchor on the 2d of May?

A. I was if that was the day the dinner was had.

Q. Was you admitted by any ticket?

A. I was.

Q. Who furniſhed you with that ticket?

A. The preceding evening, between the hours of nine and ten, Mr. Hardy came to my houſe, and brought me a ticket, I think 7s. 6d. marked on it. I put my hand in my pocket thinking I was to pay, he ſaid no, there is nothing to pay for this ticket?

Q. By whom did you underſtand thoſe tickets were given?

A. I had no converſation with him upon that ſubject at all.

Lord

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. At what time did he bring it to you?

A. Between the hours of nine and ten o'clock.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Where?

A. In Crown-court, Covent-garden.

Mr. Law. This was a meeting of the Conſtitutional Society?

A. I underſtood it to be a meeting of the Conſtitutional Society, with a certain number of the London Correſponding Society, who were invited to that dinner, and Mr. Hardy brought me a ticket unknown and unexpected.

Q. Did you go as a member of the Correſponding Society?

A. I did.

Q. Do you know what number of thoſe tickets were delivered out for the Correſponding Society?

A. I think, if I may preſume to gueſs———

Q. Do you know what number of the Correſponding Society there were there that were not members of the Conſtitutional Society?

A. I think I may ſay twenty.

Q. Do you recollect before dinner any news coming of any particular public event, and what was ſaid in the ſociety upon that?

A. There was ſome news of ſome public event.

Q. Was it good or bad news to this country?

A. I underſtood it to be very bad news.

Q. In the Conſtitutional Society, and in this aſſembly, conſiſting of members of both ſocieties, was there any joy ſhewn, or otherwiſe?

A. There ſeemed univerſal ſatisfaction, and it was carried about the room ſeemingly with great eagerneſs.

Q. Was there any ſong ſung that you recollect by the name of the Free Conſtitution?

A. It was delivered to me before dinner in a room adjoining the dinner room, by a perſon who delivered them round to all the people there, as far as they could go, I believe.

Q. Did

Q. Did you ſee any papers of any ſort laid upon the plates in the room?

A. I recollect now there was a paper on the plates.

Q. Was it of the ſame ſort with the one you have ſtated to have been delivered in the outer room?

A. I cannot ſay.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Have you got it?

A. I have not.

Mr. Law. You cannot ſay whether the paper laid on the plate was the ſame as the ſong or not?

A. I cannot.

Q. Who was in the chair at that dinner?

A. I underſtood Mr. Horne Tooke—No, I believe a Mr. Wharton, and even in that I do not know that I am correct, but I think ſo, Mr. Wharton———

Q. Was Mr. Horne Tooke there?

A. He was.

Q. Do you know Lord Daer?

A. I do.

Q. Mention the names of any perſons you particularly remember to have been preſent.

A. Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Wharton, a Gentleman whom I ſaw in Court juſt now, of the name of Birchall, Mr. Sharp whom I have known many years, an engraver; there were ſeveral members of the London Correſponding Society.

Q. Do you know Mr. Froſt?

A. Yes; he was there, and he ſat cloſe to Mr. Tooke.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Were thoſe members or viſitors?

A. I cannot undertake to ſay, I did not belong to the Conſtitutional Society.

Mr. Law. Was Mr. Hardy there?

A. Mr. Hardy was there.

Q. Do you know Thelwall?

A. He was there.

Q. Richter?

A. Yes.

Q. Lovett?

A. He

A. He was there.

Q. Was Moore there?

A. Yes.

Q. Pearce?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Jones there?

A. Yes.

Q. He was a member of the London Corresponding Society, I believe?

A. There are several Jones's.

Lord Chief Justice Eyre. Does much turn upon the names?

Mr. Law. No.—What songs were sung, do you recollect; do you know a song by the name of *Ca Ira?*

A. That was not sung as I recollect, but the moment the company got into the room, the music struck up *Ca Ira.*

Q. Before dinner are you speaking of?

A. I think all the time we were at dinner; I think it played *Ca Ira* almost from beginning to end; it was encored time after time.

Q. Do you recollect the music of any other song that was played?

A. Yes, the Marseillois March—the Carmagnol.

Q. Did the company seem to be pleased with the music, did it meet with any applause?

A. I never heard such an universal din of approbation in the course of my life; it was nothing but a scene of clamour, for I do believe most people's hands smarted, and their ears ached.

Q. Do you recollect any particular toast drank after dinner?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you recollect none of the toasts?

A. I cannot charge my memory.

Q. Do you recollect any particular address that was made to the company then present, by Mr. Horne Tooke?

A. That I do.

Q. State, as far as you can, the words, if not the words, the substance of that address?

A. I will; ſome time after dinner Mr. Horne Tooke got up, and ſilence was called, and he prefaced his addreſs by an obſervation that, I believe, one out of fifty in that room might be conſidered as a Government Spy, and to them he wiſhed particularly to addreſs himſelf; and, in conſequence of that addreſs, I muſt confeſs I did attend; in conſequence of his addreſſing himſelf to Government ſpies, I certainly did attend to what he ſaid; for my idea of a ſpy and informer may differ particularly in a buſineſs of this nature.

Q. To the beſt of your recollection, what was it Mr. Horne Tooke delivered in that addreſs?

A. He begged the company to take notice, that he was not in a ſtate of inebriation; for having ſomething to ſay to the company, he had taken care to refrain from his glaſs; and for fear of being miſtaken, and being taken to be in a ſtate of intoxication, he begged every body preſent to take particular notice of what he ſaid; he called the Parliament a ſcoundrel ſink of corruption; he called the Oppoſition in Parliament a ſcoundrel ſink of oppoſition; he ſaid, that there was a junction between thoſe two ſcoundrel parties, formed for the purpoſe of deſtroying the rights and liberties of the country; he began to ſpeak about the Hereditary Nobility; he aſked, if that ſkip-jack, Jenkinſon, could be conſidered as one of the Hereditary Nobility of the country; and, I think, if my memory is right, that he paid the ſame compliment to the Houſe of Lords that he did to the Houſe of Commons.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Don't ſpeak about compliment.—What did he ſay?

A. That there was a junction between the miniſterial party and the oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Do you mean that he ſaid the ſame thing of the Houſe of Lords as of the Houſe of Commons?

A. Yes; he ſaid it was in order to amuſe, or abuſe, (he uſed one of theſe words, I am not ſure which word) that poor man, the King.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. What was in order to amuſe?

A. The junction between the two parties.

Mr. Law. Was any thing further ſaid by him?

A. I do not recollect; yes, I think he ſaid likewiſe, that the junction of the oppoſition in Parliament with the ariſtocratic party in the Houſe of Commons, was likewiſe meant to abuſe and deceive the people of this country. The junction of parties in the Houſe of Commons to abuſe the people of this country.

Q. Did he mention any thing farther reſpecting the King?

A. I cannot ſay.

Q. Did he ſtate what was the object of his addreſs, or of his meaſures?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. How was this addreſs of his received?

A. With applauſe,—with great applauſe.

Q. Was any ſong ſung to the tune of God ſave the King?

A. There was.

Q. Do you recollect Mr. Horne Tooke's ſaying any thing reſpecting the ſong that had been ſung to that tune?

A. I cannot recollect.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Was it the ſong of God ſave the King?

A. No; a ſong to the tune of God ſave the King.

Mr. Law. Do you recollect Mr. Tooke's ſinging, or reciting, any lines of a ſong to that tune?

A. You have recalled ſomething to my memory that I had forgot—if I am right, Mr. Horne Tooke ſung that ſong; or he ſung an additional verſe, which he ſaid had been forgot.

Q. What did he ſupply?

A. I do not recollect the words.

Q. What was the name of that ſong? you ſaid that a ſong, entitled the Free Conſtitution, was delivered to the members before dinner?

A. Yes; and I do not know whether there was not one put upon each plate; if it was not that, it was ſomething elſe; Mr. Horne Tooke ſung that ſong.

Q. Do you recollect the firſt line of the ſong that was ſung to the tune of God ſave the King?

A. I do not.

Mr. John Groves.

Croſs Examined by *Mr. Gibbs.*

Q. Pray what are you?

A. I have followed the buſineſs of conveyancing for theſe twenty-two, or twenty-three years.

Q. Then you are a lawyer?

A. If you call that a lawyer.

Q. Is conveyancing the only branch of the profeſſion that you have followed?

Groves. As an attorney do you mean?

Mr. Gibbs. Are you an attorney?

A. I never brought or defended an action, in my life, as an attorney.

Q. You may tell me whether you are an attorney or not?

A. I am not.

Q. Are you a ſolicitor.

Groves. In Chancery?

Mr. Gibbs. No I did not mean in Chancery, you have been long enough in the law to know the meaning of the word ſolicitor; —are you a ſolicitor of any ſort?

A. Yes.

Q. Where?

A. I have been here.

Q. Why then, you are ſolicitor at the Old Bailey.

A. Yes.

Q. Could not you have ſaid ſo at once; you underſtood perfectly well what I meant.

A. No.

Q. When I aſked if you were a ſolicitor, and you aſked if I meant in Chancery, I told you I did not mean in Chancery?

A. I thought you meant a ſolicitor in Chancery.

Q. And you really did not know the meaning of my queſtion?

A. I did not know.

Q. You had not the leaſt idea that I meant to aſk, if you had been an Old Bailey ſolicitor?

A. It

A. It did not occur to me.

Q. It did not occur to you, upon my aſking you the queſtion, that you had been an Old Bailey ſolicitor?

A. I did not ſay that; but I gave you what I thought an immediate anſwer. I really did not know the term as applied to me as a ſolicitor.

Q. You really did not know but that I meant to aſk you whether you were a ſolicitor in Chancery?—What was the firſt time that you were at any of thoſe meetings?

A. On the 20th of January.

Q. How came you to go then?

A. I was ſent by a gentleman.

Q. By whom?

Groves. I am aſked, my Lord, by whom; if it is proper I will tell.

Mr. Gibbs. If it be improper I will not aſk it?

Groves. If it is a fair queſtion I will anſwer it directly.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. There can be no imputation upon you for anſwering the queſtion;—if you decline anſwering, that is another thing; it expoſes you to no difficulties, or penalty, or any thing of that ſort.

A. None; it is only a point of delicacy. I am ready to give an anſwer—I have not the leaſt objection on my part.

Mr. Law. My Lord, I take it that the channels for information muſt be protected.

Mr. Attorney-General. The Court of Exchequer never would permit that queſtion to be aſked.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Upon a general principle I do not know whether it ought to be anſwered.

Groves. It was a perſon high in office under his Majeſty; but permit me to add, I was not deſired by that gentleman to conceal his name.

Mr. Gibbs. Then where is the delicacy of it?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. He has ſaid what is proper and material for your purpoſe: that is, that he went there, being employed for the purpoſe of collecting information, with a view to the diſcloſure of it.

Mr. Gibbs. I will not preſs the queſtion further than your Lordſhip thinks I ought—I leave it to the diſcretion of the Court if it is thought not proper.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I do not think it is proper.

Mr. Gibbs. Then you were deſired by a perſon, high in office, to go to this place;—how aroſe your connection with that gentleman,

A. My connection with that gentleman has been for theſe ten years; that is ſo far as having the honour of being perſonally known to him.

Q. What ſort of connection had you with him?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. It is hardly proper that the hiſtory of a connection of that kind ſhould be diſcloſed here.

Groves. That gentleman would not employ me in any thing diſhonourable, nor would I accept it.

Mr Gibbs. I dare ſay you would not.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. You find he went on purpoſe to give information of what paſſed; that is the only fact that is material for the priſoner; the reſt is private intercourſe, which may involve in it the conſideration of a thouſand other things, which may be material to the government of the country.—I think it not proper to be diſcloſed here, it is not neceſſary to the cauſe.

Groves. I have had the honour of his confidence ever ſince I have known him.

Mr. Gibbs. Then truſting in you, he ſent you to the Globe Tavern on the 20th of January, 1794?

A. Certainly.

Q. Then you never were at any of thoſe meetings but in the character of a ſpy?

A. As you call it ſo, I will take it ſo.

Mr. Gibbs. If you were not there as a ſpy, take any title you chuſe for yourſelf, and I will give you that.

Mr. Law. He did not ſtate any title.

Mr. Gibbs. I did not deſire you to take any title in the ſenſe that gentleman is uſing the term; you object to the term ſpy, as I called you, and I bid you take any other name.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. There ſhould be no name given to a witneſs

a witneſs on his examination: he ſtates what he went for, and in making obſervations on the evidence, you may give it any appellation you pleaſe. You recollect I made the obſervation before, when Mr. Erſkine did the ſame thing.

Mr. Gibbs. I really did not feel that I was going at all out of the way in the croſs-examination of a witneſs, in calling him by a name which ſuits his character, though he does not like it.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Go on.

Mr. Gibbs. You went then (not to call you a ſpy) to theſe meetings in the character of a perſon, who had no other reaſon for going there, than that of picking up what information you could, and carrying it again to thoſe employers, in whoſe confidence you were?

A. Certainly.

Q. Then I muſt expreſs your employment by that peraphraſis. You ſaid there was a great aſſembly there?

A. There was.

Q. There was a conſiderable meeting you ſaid, and Univerſal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments were talked of?

Groves. Which meeting do you ſpeak of?

Mr. Gibbs. I am ſpeaking of the meeting to which you firſt went.

A. There was a very large meeting, ſo much ſo that the floor broke down.

Q. You have been giving an account of ſome converſation that paſſed there; can't you recollect who the perſons were that had that converſation?

A. No; I do not know, there was an univerſal converſation.

Q. You going there for the purpoſe of collecting evidence againſt individuals, and coming now to give evidence againſt an individual, you thought it not material to obſerve who the people were that then uſed this language—You, a gentleman uſed to practiſe at the Old Bailey, and meaning to give evidence afterwards againſt thoſe perſons, did not think it material to learn by whom theſe converſations were held?

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. Mr. Gibbs, I am ſorry to interrupt you, but your queſtions ought not to be accompanied with thoſe

fort of comments: they are the proper ſubjects of obſervation when the defence is made. The buſineſs of a croſs-examination is to aſk to all ſorts of acts, to probe a witneſs as cloſely as you can; but it is not the object of a croſs-examination, to introduce that kind of paraphraſis as you have juſt done.

Mr. Gibbs. Send to Mr. Erſkine, he is in the parlour.

[*Mr. Erſkine immediately came into Court.*]

Mr. Erſkine. Will your Lordſhip give me leave to ſay, it is the univerſal practice of the Court of King's Bench, the firſt criminal court in this country, in which I have had the honour to practice for ſeventeen years---We are certainly permitted to go as far as this. I agree with your Lordſhip in what you juſt now ſaid (and it will be of no conſequence whether I did or no, becauſe your Lordſhip muſt give the rule) but what I take my learned friend to have ſaid to the witneſs, is this: you, ſir, not meaning it as an inſult to the witneſs, but you, ſir, as a practiſer at the Old Bailey, muſt know the neceſſity, if you go to any place to get evidence, of having proper materials for that evidence; how do you account for not having done that? In a croſs-examination, Counſel are not called upon to be ſo exact as in an original examination---You are permitted to lead a witneſs.

Mr. Gibbs. I deſired Mr. Erſkine to be ſent for into court, as I wiſhed to have the teſtimony of a gentleman who has practiſed in that court more than any man now preſent, that I was not departing from the practice which has obtained there---My end is now anſwered in deſiring Mr. Erſkine to come into court.

Mr. Erſkine. I can appeal to one of the learned Judges now upon the Bench. I remember that when Mr. Garrow firſt came to the ſituation, which undoubtedly he fills with a great deal of ability, I objected to a queſtion he put on a croſs-examination, and when it turned out that it was upon croſs-examination, the laugh was turned againſt me, and I had nothing to ſay.

Mr. Juſtice Buller. Undoubtedly the practice has increaſed much within my memory: what Mr. Erſkine alludes to now has been univerſally the practice; that when you are upon a croſs-examination, you are permitted to lead a witneſs more than you

can

can on an original examination; but be ſo good as recollect the mode in which the Lord Chief Juſtice put it yeſterday, and I do not think in Guildhall, or any where elſe, you ever departed from that. You may lead a witneſs upon a croſs-examination to bring him directly to the point as to the anſwer; but not to go the length as was attempted yeſterday, of putting the very words into a witneſs's mouth, which he was to echo back again.

Mr. Erſkine. Having done that yeſterday, I immediately bowed to the admonition I received from my Lord Chief Juſtice.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I ſhould be extremely ſorry if it ſhould be ſuppoſed that I mean to make an obſervation that ſeemed to preſs perſonally upon either of the learned counſel who are now for the defendant, and particularly on the gentleman who is now croſs-examining this witneſs, and more particularly if it were ſuppoſed I was capable of doing that in the abſence of the other counſel; I hope that will never be imagined of me.

With regard to the point, I think it is ſo clear that the queſtions that are put are not to be loaded with all the obſervations that ariſe upon all the previous parts of the caſe, they tend ſo to diſtract the attention of every body, they load us in point of time ſo much, and that that is not the time for obſervation upon the character and ſituation of a witneſs is ſo apparent, that as a rule of evidence it ought never to be departed from; but it is certainly true that it does ſlide into examinations, and that it is very often not taken notice of, and it ſaves more time frequently to let it paſs than to take notice of it; but there is a rule to which all thoſe ſort of things, if once an appeal is made to the court, ought to be brought, and my judgment is, that after you have got the particular facts upon which that ſort of obſervation is founded, the examination ought to proceed to the other facts upon the caſe, and the obſervations upon thoſe former facts ought to make part of the defence.

Mr. Gibbs. My reaſon for ſending for Mr. Erſkine was becauſe I knew it had been the practice, and I think I have obſerved it in the courſe of this cauſe on the other ſide. What Mr. Juſtice Buller has ſaid, that it is a practice that has gone on to a greater length than it ought, I hope, will be

be an excuſe for me, becauſe I am more inexperienced in the profeſſion than Mr. Erſkine or Mr. Garrow. If that mode of examination prevails on one ſide, eſpecially againſt a defendant——

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I will never ſuffer it to prevail on either ſide, but as far as I would indulge it, it ſhould be on the part of a defendant.

Mr. Gibbs. Your lordſhip does not ſuppoſe, I truſt, that I ſent for Mr. Erſkine with any other view than I have mentioned, I confeſs I feel myſelf ſenſibly mortified.

Lord Chief Juſtice Eyre. I am extremely ſorry for it, I never wiſhed to mortify you.

Mr. Gibbs. I think you told me that you were a gentleman who practiſed at the Old Bailey, do you now practiſe here, or have you left off that practice?

A. I have not left it off.

Q. You now practiſe at the Old Bailey?

A. I have not for ſome time.

Q. How happens that?

A. Not this ſix months.

Q. Your reaſon for not having practiſed is, that no buſineſs has been brought to you, I preſume?

A. Certainly, you are right there.

Q. Did you or not think it neceſſary, at this meeting, to attend to the particular perſons from whom the converſation that you are now ſtating, proceeded?

A. At that time I was a total ſtranger almoſt to every one in room.

Q. You did not endeavour to diſtinguiſh what was ſaid by one man from what was ſaid by another?

A. I did not in converſation.

Q. You ſay the language was Univerſal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell me who uſed that language?

A. I cannot, it was the general language.

Q. Who uſed it you cannot tell?

A. No, I cannot.

Q. How

Q. How many people might there be there?

A. As many as the room could contain, and it was a large room; I ſhould ſuppoſe if I ſaid four hundred people I ſhould ſpeak within bounds.

Q. You cannot recollect any one particular perſon who held this language you have been ſpeaking of?

A. I cannot; we were in two rooms there; the firſt room we were in broke down, which occaſioned us to go up ſtairs.

Q. You were afterwards at Chalk Farm, I think you ſay?

A. I was.

Q. There you went under the ſame employment, and for the ſame perſon?

A. Exactly ſo.

Q. You ſeem to have fixed yourſelf a good deal upon Mr. Thelwall?

A. No, Mr. Thelwall fixed himſelf upon me.

Q. It was involuntary then?

A. Quite ſo, for at that time I hardly knew Mr. Thelwall.

Q. You would rather have declined it?

A. No, I did not ſay that; that is going too far; he and I were ſtanding at the door, in Store-ſtreet, together, when there were not above ten or a dozen people there, and then the paper being ſtuck up that the meeting would be held at Chalk Farm, he ſaid, "come along."

Q. Was that the firſt time you had converſed with him?

A. I had converſed with him ſeveral times.

Q. Did he know who you were?

A. I do not believe he did.

Q. He had no previous knowledge of you?

A. He had none of me, nor I of him.

Q. Had you any introduction to him?

A. None.

Q. You had no previous knowledge of him, nor he of you, no introduction to him, no common friend who told each that he might truſt the other?

A. No, I do not recollect that ever ſuch a converſation paſſed between me and any man in the world.

Q. But

Q. But all this that he ſaid to you was voluntary?

A. What paſſed between him and me was in going to Chalk Farm, which was the firſt time in my life I ever ſpoke to him, it was voluntary.

Q. I think you ſay that at Chalk Farm there was a clamour that ſpies were there?

A. Certainly.

Q. And Mr. Thelwall was for admitting them all?

A. He was, and deſired them to hear; and, I believe, I may add ſomething further, now you have brought it to my recollection: he ſaid, it would give the miniſter the power of judging of their proceedings and their numbers.

Q. You ſaid ſo before—I believe you yourſelf made this cry againſt ſpies, did not you? you yourſelf ſaid you thought there were ſpies among them?

A. O yes! I did ſay that, and thought myſelf very juſtifiable in ſo doing.

Q. Yes, yes, that was a ſcheme you had learned in your practice certainly, you were the perſon then who ſuggeſted that there were ſpies from the Treaſury there?

A. No, I was not; there was a perſon preſent, I was aſked if I knew him, I ſaid, yes, I did.

Q. Did you ſay you knew him to be a ſpy?

A. I was aſked who he was, and what he was, and I ſaid, I did think he was a perſon employed by Government.

Q. Who was he?

A. His name was Walſh.

Q. And you ſeeing Mr. Walſh there, ſaid, you thought he was a perſon employed by Government?

A. I was applied to by ſeveral to know whether it was not Mr. Walſh, I ſaid, it was, and that I believed he had ſome employment about Government; and I believed Mr. Walſh did not wiſh to conceal it, for upon his buttons there was, I believe, the King and Conſtitution, ſo that he did not wiſh to conceal it.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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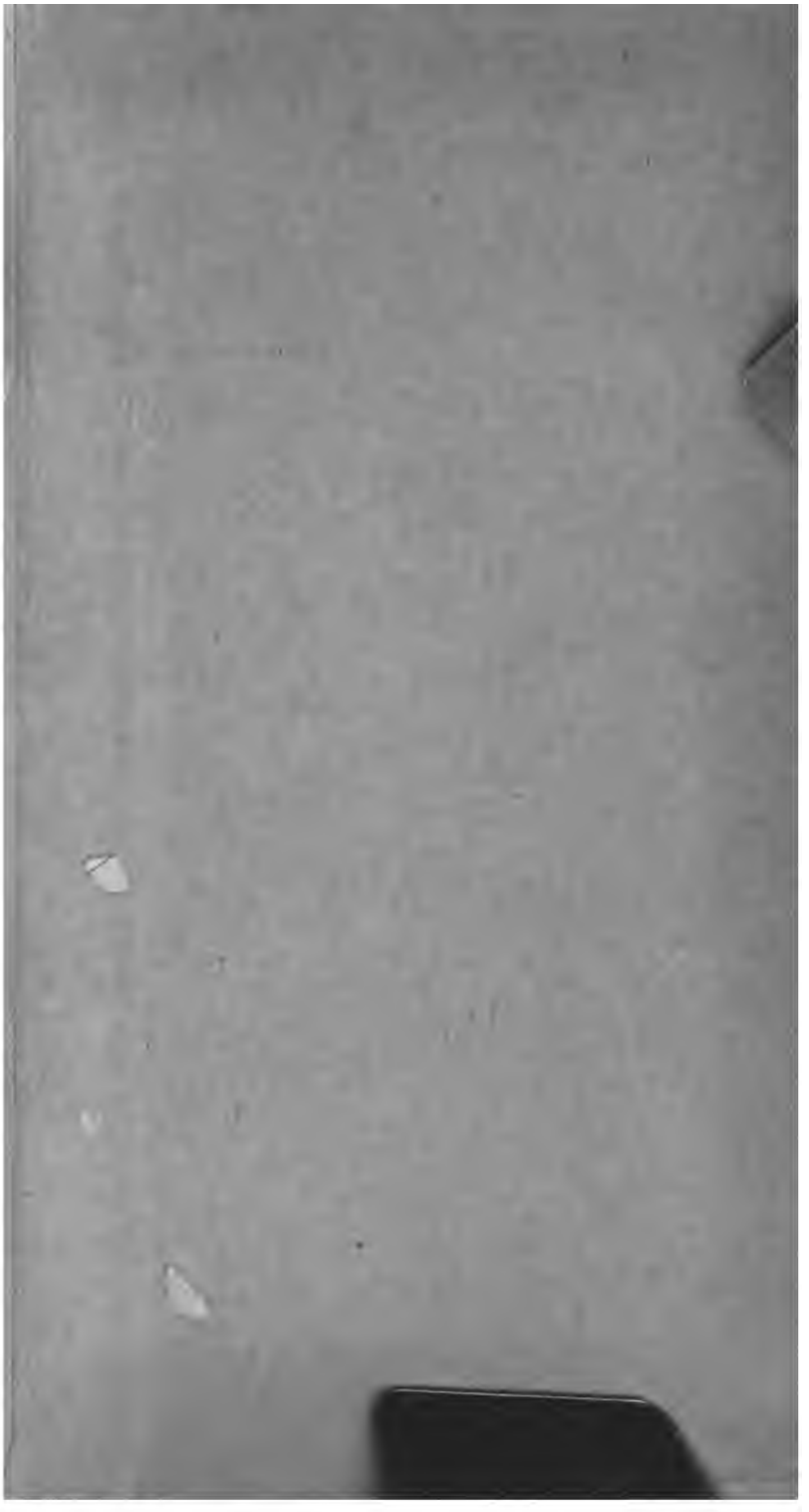

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